

Modification in Phatic Endphases:
a Study of Cross-Linguistic and Interlanguage Aspects.

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DECLARATION

This thesis has been composed by myself, and the work is my own.

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This thesis has arisen from my astonishment over the apparent rudeness and unkindness of the Danes in their interactions with other people.

Abstract

This thesis examines the occurrence and nature of modificational elements in phatic endphases. Phatic talk is an instance of interpersonal communication, it mainly has an ice-breaking function and is confined to the marginal phases of face-to-face interaction.

The collected speech material is contrastive in different respects. English production data are compared with interlanguage English and German data are compared with interlanguage German data. Phatic endphases are opposed to endphases which are more referential in nature. This approach makes it possible to draw up a cross-linguistic as well as an interlanguage phatic frame for different interpersonal configurations. A distinction is made between two types of encounter: interactions in which there is no social distance, i.e. between friends, and interactions with social distance, i.e. between, for instance, a shopkeeper and a client. An analysis of the data at all these levels reveals linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations from a native speaker-like frame, which are explained at a cognitive level in terms of the learners' declarative and procedural knowledge.

The learner data arising from the Discourse-Completion Task are supplemented with an extensive collection of introspection data. They make it possible to explain deviations in the learner's declarative and procedural knowledge not only at a cognitive, but also at an affective and social level.

When correlating the linguistic findings from the production task with the psycholinguistic introspection data, it is found that the urge to say more than required can be identified as an overcompensation strategy. Not only is there already over-representation in the areas of politeness markers and intensifiers, but the learners of German suggest using even more intensifiers and the learners of English would want to use more politeness markers. The two learner groups seem to experience difficulties at different levels, i.e. the socio-pragmatic as opposed to the interpersonal management. These observations have repercussions for the phatic frame as it is traditionally presented with politeness as central constituent. Thus, it is concluded that (culturally appropriate) interpersonal management is more central to phatic endphases than socio-pragmatic politeness.

CHAPTER 0

Introduction

This thesis consists of 6 chapters which can briefly be characterized in the following way.

In chapter 1 a general terminological framework for phatic communion as an instance of interpersonal communication is presented. On the basis of the relevant literature a distinction is made between phatic talk on the one hand and small talk on the other. As working definitions I adopt that phatic talk mainly has an ice-breaking function and is confined to the marginal phases of face-to-face interaction, whereas longer dialogues pertaining to the core phase of interaction will be referred to as small talk.

Chapter 2 approaches phatic communion from a cognitive point of view, distinguishing between on the one hand higher- and lower-order declarative knowledge, and on the other hand procedural knowledge. Links are established between the different constitutive elements and rules (declarative). In addition, some of the ways in which they are activated (procedural) are referred to. The nature of the verbal acts in phatic communion is described as conversational routines and politeness phenomena. In the final part of the chapter, the marginal phases and especially endphases are looked into from a discourse (and also interpersonal) management point of view.

Phatic communion has been studied from different theoretical perspectives. I have tried to amalgamate semiotic-indexical, socio-pragmatic and ethnomethodological views, all of which contribute towards a delineation of the term. This approach necessarily entails that not all the aspects can be dealt with in the same amount of detail. Moreover, it should be stressed that from a theoretical point of view my main interest is in the characteristics of the concept across language boundaries.

Chapter 3 contains a detailed presentation of the instrument for data collection as well as a characterization of the native speaker and learner production data. A model for analysis is introduced and the data are characterized from an interactional (structural) and illocutionary (content) angle.

Chapter 4 is entirely devoted to an analysis of the modificational dimension of the data in different configurations. It is assumed as a starting hypothesis that there will be no difference in the use and occurrence of modification between the native

and learner samples.

In chapter 5 the data collected by means of introspection on the production task are presented and analysed. The main point of the discussion is that deviations in the learner's declarative and procedural knowledge can be explained not only at a cognitive, but also at an affective and social level.

The final chapter contains a summary of the findings and concluding remarks, as well as suggestions for further research.

This project predominantly studies the occurrence and nature of modificational elements in interlanguage phatic endphases. The material is contrastive both as far as languages as well as type of data is concerned. English data are compared with interlanguage English and German data are compared with interlanguage German data. Phatic endphases are opposed to endphases in which an offer is either accepted or declined. This approach enables me to draw up a (cross-linguistic as well as interlanguage) phatic frame for different interpersonal configurations. I will distinguish between two types of encounter: interactions in which there is no social distance, i.e. between friends, and interactions with social distance, i.e. between, for instance, a shopkeeper and a client.

Linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations from a native speaker-like frame will have to be explained at a cognitive level from the point of view of the learners' declarative and procedural knowledge. This is on the one hand their communicatively relevant knowledge of the linguistic building-blocks as well as the cement to bind them together and on the other hand the knowledge of how to select and combine them to reach a particular communicative goal.

The question to be addressed is: do deviations in the learners' declarative and/or procedural knowledge give an insight into their strategic behaviour? In other words, is the production to be characterized as overrepresentation of particular linguistic elements (quantitative) or is it overcomplex (qualitative)?

CHAPTER 1

Communication as Interaction

1. Introduction.

In this chapter a general outline will be given of the terminology used throughout this thesis. Central concepts like 'communication', 'interaction' and 'phatic function' will be dealt with in detail without, however, aiming at being exhaustive. Even though the orientation of the main part of this work will be on intercultural aspects of communication, many of the observations in the relevant literature have only or primarily been made from a native-speaker point of view.

It will become clear that my approach is mainly inspired by social and ethnomethodological work; however, I will present views from different linguistic angles. The main focus is on verbal realization, but also some non-verbal contributions to the phenomena will be touched upon in passing.

2. Communicative Process and Communicative Functions.

For human beings communication is a basic need like eating, drinking and sleeping. People exchange ideas, thoughts, feelings through an intricate system of verbal and/or non-verbal signs. The verbal elements contain information of a vocal nature. Voice quality or suprasegmental features like intonation and stress, for instance, contribute towards the ultimate meaning of the utterances which are exchanged as do non-verbal signs like body movements, eye-contact, facial expressions, etc. At the same time, spoken language is not produced in a vacuum: a multitude of contextual elements exert influence on it. An often quoted example is an interactant's social, educational and professional background, which largely determines the nature of the language used.

Dyadic or triadic conversational interaction is a particular type of interaction belonging solely to the human sphere. Speech is one of the means, perhaps the most essential means of human communication and perhaps the most essential means of social interaction.

The aim of this first section is to systematically introduce the communicative framework in general terms.

2.1. Interindividual Communication.

The Prague school of linguistics has to be credited with drawing attention to the dynamic aspects of language. Within a Prague structuralist framework language is regarded as a means of interindividual communication or as Vachek puts it:

(...) the implementation of language supplies the members of the given language community with the means of interindividual communication in the broadest sense of the word (Vachek 1966, 33).

Interindividual communication is complex. It not only consists of intralinguistic elements, which constitute the contextual level of information, but also of extralinguistic elements. Every communicative act is determined by situational circumstances which are constrained by spatial and temporal as well as interindividual factors. The referents of the communication are embedded in the language community that communicates about them, and about which they themselves communicate. In doing so they refer to a specific socio-cultural reality. Communication, therefore, is not only context but also cotext: it includes impulses from the cultural and social environment which the participants in the conversation are exposed to:

(...) this interindividual communication is not confined to the actual content that is literally expressed by concrete speech utterances, but includes all sorts of social contact in so far as this is made by language means (Vachek 1966, 33).

Vachek thus indicates that utterances carry more than literal meaning. In this sense, communication is not a purely linguistic phenomenon. The fact that language in use is embedded in real life is reflected in its socio-pragmatic features.

2.2. Basic Functional Strands of Spoken Language.

Although it is widely accepted that communication is a multi-stranded phenomenon, i.e. different types of messages are exchanged, authors differ in their labels and definitions of the various strands that can be identified in the communicative situation. This can be regarded as the reflection of a different focus in their linguistic research. Nevertheless, they generally agree on the tripartite structure of communication, which relates to the communicative configuration: a first person speaks to a second person about a third subject or object. This fundamental grammatical distinction was systematically developed from a linguistic point of view by Bühler (1933), who differentiates between three elements: representation, expression and vocative. 'Representation' relates to the theme

spoken about, 'expression' to the person speaking and 'vocative' to the person being addressed.

Several other authors have expanded on this model of communication, stressing different aspects. I will briefly look at the common denominator of three of them: Jakobson, Lyons and Halliday. Jakobson (1960) redefines Bühler's concepts as the referential, emotive and conative function and works them into his communicative model (see 2.3.). 'Referential' in Jakobson's terminology is denotative or cognitive, 'emotive' 'aims a direct expression of the speaker's attitude towards what he is speaking about' (Jakobson 1960, 354). 'Conative' is 'oriented towards the addressee' (Jakobson 1960, 355), which means that this function carries information about which direction the message takes.

Lyons (1977) distinguishes between three different kinds of transmission of information: descriptive, expressive and social. In other words, language is used to make statements (a subclass of utterances) about, to express a speaker's attitude towards, or emotional involvement in the subject matter, and to establish and consolidate social relations. The expressive and social strands are closely linked concepts which have the interpersonal aspect in common. Bühler and Jakobson group them under one term: 'emotive' or 'expression'. This leads us to Halliday (1976), who opts for the labels 'ideational', 'interpersonal', i.e. 'social', and 'expressive', and adds 'textual meaning'. 'Ideational' means the use of language to express a content in terms of experience of the real world, whereas textual meaning is 'the function of creating text' (Halliday 1976, 28). Language is organized in a complex way and the functions depend on one another.

Since language serves a general 'ideational' function we are able to use it for all the specific purposes and situation types involving the communication of experience. Since also it serves a general 'interpersonal' function we are able to use it for all the specific forms of personal and social interaction. The third, 'textual', function is actually a prerequisite to the effective operation of the other two (Halliday 1976, 25).

Of the three strands, the referential and textual have featured most prominently in linguistic research. In the case of the referential strand, the topic of discourse carries the central research interest, whereas the structure of discourse is under scrutiny in the textual strand. The expressive (emotive or interpersonal) strand has generally been regarded as a phenomenon at the micro-level of the utterance and its importance for the discourse as a whole has largely been ignored in linguistic research. Nevertheless, Cheepen points out that 'the establishment and monitoring of an appropriate interpersonal framework account for much of the linguistic work

done by speakers' and this component is 'the basis on which other strands of meaning are built' (Cheepen 1988, 3). It is this interpersonal aspect of communication which will be at the centre of my discussion.

2.3. The Communicative Process.

Language produced in everyday communicative situations is not restricted to the three above-mentioned strands only, but can serve several additional communicative functions like aesthetic, appellative and phatic. In other words, it is used as a means to realize particular functions like expressing attitudes or feelings. The constitutive elements of communication as well as the way in which language focuses on them and activates a particular function can be comprehensively captured in a model of communication. My discussion will mainly rely on Jakobson's model (1960).

Basically, communicative functions are activated whenever the language tunes into one of the elements of the communicative process, i.e. the addresser or encoder, the context, the message, the code, the contact or channel, and the addressee or decoder. The communicative process can be loosely (and simplistically) glossed in the following way: the addresser, i.e. normally a speaker or writer, formulates or encodes a message which is meant to be heard or read by an addressee. The message carries a particular theme which is embedded in a context referring to the world of experience and takes the form of a linguistic code adhering to the code's lexicon and grammar. It is transmitted via a channel and subsequently decoded by the addressee. The communicative process is schematized in Figure 1.1.

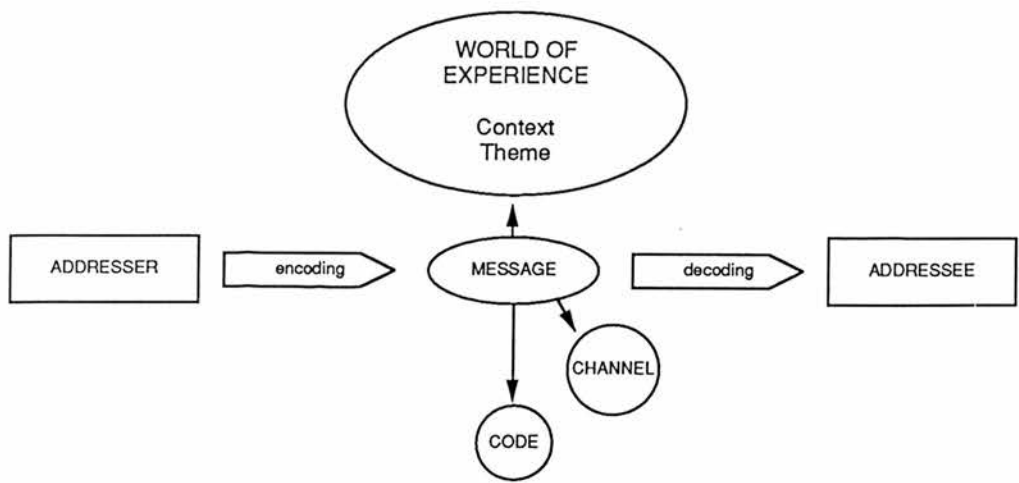


Figure 1.1.: The Communicative Process and its Components.

Whenever language focuses on a particular communicative element, a specific communicative function will come into play. The dependency relations between the communicative elements and the six basic functions of verbal communication are schematized in Figure 1.2.

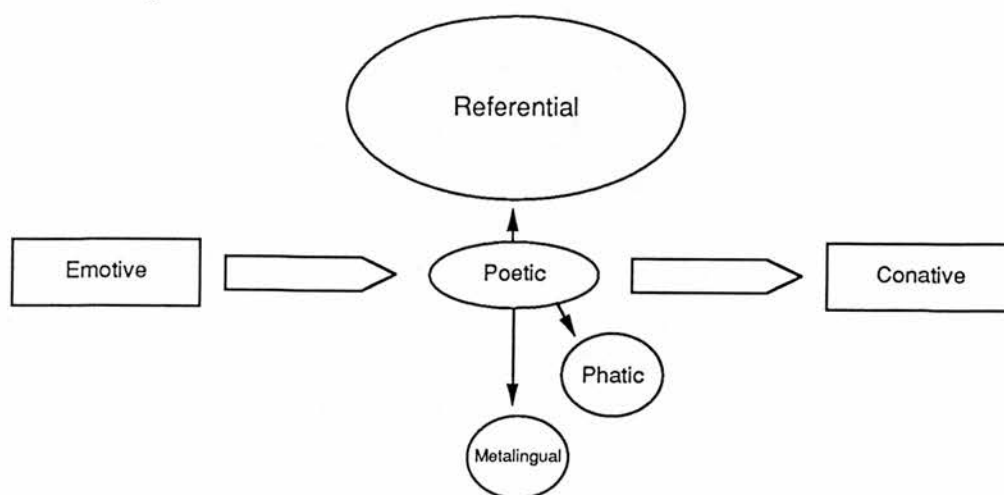


Figure 1.2.: The Communicative Functions within the Model of Communication (based on Jakobson 1960).

The emotive function will be activated when the language focuses on the addresser or, in other words, when it is related to the expression of the addresser's feelings and attitudes. The speaker/writer is actively involved in the process and does not only display emotions, but also expresses personal ideas, thoughts, etc.

The referential function refers to a particular situation in reality; the emphasis within the communicative act is on the theme, which is embedded in the world of experience. The term 'world of experience' refers to both the linguistic and extralinguistic context of the message (context vs. cotext), and also more generally to the personal history of the addresser (and more marginally also the addressee). Thus, within the referential function the emphasis will first and foremost be on the theme, the immediate context and cotext of the message.

Language can also focus on the code itself, or, in other words, the participants may feel the urge to 'check up whether they use the same code' (Jakobson 1960, 356). In this case, language displays a metalingual or metalinguistic function.

When the aesthetic value of the message is predominant, the poetic function will be at work. This has often been regarded as language at work in its most pure and bare form.

Language has a conative function when the message aims at influencing the receiver. It carries a serious request to the interactant to adopt a preferably positive attitude to the message or it might even imply a compulsion for the addressee to do X or Y. By sending the message, the addresser appeals to the addressee to become 'involved' in the matter.

Finally, the phatic function will be activated when the language is working towards opening as well as keeping open the channel between addresser and addressee and thus establishing contact or a 'psychological connection' (Jakobson 1960, 353) between both. Research since Jakobson has slightly broadened the concept of channel into, not only a physical and psychological, but also a communicative and social channel or connection between the encoder and decoder of the message. It is this last function which will be focused upon in this study.

2.3.1. Interdependence of Communicative Components.

As has already been observed in passing, a particular function can be more dependent on some constitutive communicative elements than others. As far as the phatic function is concerned the channel is the core element, but this function cannot be activated when speaker and hearer are not actively involved in the process. In other words, the speaker will appeal to the hearer to channel their joint linguistic efforts towards guaranteeing immediate or future continuation of their social and communicative interaction. Thus, the emotive and conative functions play an accessory role in realizing the phatic function, whereas the message and theme are of minor or virtually no importance.

2.3.2. Interrelations of the Communicative Functions.

Language use in general is seldom connected with one function only: it mostly consists of mixed forms with one or more dominant functions. A newspaper article and for that matter the language used in it, which in the first instance has a referential and conative function (focusing on the theme and the addressee), can also have an altogether minor aesthetic function (linked to the message).

The same can be said of conversations. Some conversations besides being referential (focusing on the theme), are also phatic (focusing on the channel), the last of which I will gloss as referentially 'empty' or mainly 'social' for the time being. An utterance like 'nice day today' simultaneously conveys a meaning related to the weather and a 'non-meaning' aimed at keeping the channel open: the participant in the interaction is obliged to react in some way or other, preferably with an

utterance in which verbal and non-verbal elements are interwoven. However, the utterance's meaning is secondary to its phatic function: the utterance directly refers to an observable entity within the situation of both addresser and addressee and from a content point of view it is in many ways stating the obvious.

The fact that the different functions can intertwine in an intricate way is an indication of the dynamic character of language.

2.4. Social Information Exchange.

In numerous conversations little factual information is exchanged and consequently the activated function is hardly or not entirely referential. Their nature is of a different kind:

Much talk has less to do with expressing propositional content than with structuring, repeating, emphasizing, mitigating and generally 'padding' (Stubbs 1983, 178).

The discourse (and maybe metalinguistic) elements of structuring and repeating as well as the more socially oriented emphasizing, mitigating and 'padding' are all directed towards a particular purpose pursued by the participants in the conversation. The message (the utterances' propositional content) is subordinate to its underlying meaning. In other words, the exchange of information, is subsidiary to the social (or phatic) function of the utterances, which is twofold. On the one hand the phatic function involves bridging an initial physical and psychological gap between the interlocutors, which applies, among others, to the social talk that people engage in simply in order to show that they recognize each other's presence. On the other hand, this mutual recognition by means of utterances not directly contributing to the referential content of the message leads to and ensures that the channel between the participants in the conversation is kept open for future transactions. But even though the social function is predominant, this does not automatically entail that referentiality is entirely absent, even in the most formulaic exchanges.

The converse may however also be true: the main aim of a conversation may be to focus upon the theme and thus transmit a propositional content, but still the phatic function may act as an undercurrent in the interaction. Moreover, the aim of transmitting information may fail and the message then might function as (unintended) phatic.

Conversations and other discourses that do not succeed in establishing some agreement on what they are about do not get very far as vehicles for communicating information, though they may succeed as phatic speech acts (Grimes 1981, 164).

As such these ad-hoc phatic speech acts succeed in contributing towards the social function.

3. Psychological Insecurity and Silence.

Before reviewing the literature on different aspects of this socially oriented communicative strand, I will try to shed some light on how and why the phatic function is activated. The onset of the verbal and non-verbal interaction constituting the phatic function is characterized from a psychological point of view.

3.1. Silence as an Index.

It has been established in research by, among others, Laver (1975) that conversations between people who are unacquainted or only vaguely acquainted, are often characterized by psychological insecurity. The fact that the interactants do not feel entirely at ease in one another's company may be signalled by hesitations, pauses, silences, etc. Psychological insecurity can be augmented in many ways and it relies heavily on the psychological make-up of the participants in the interaction. It is, for instance, often augmented when the interactants have an unequal social status or when one of them is a non-native speaker of the language in which the interaction is conducted. In this last instance the strain will especially be felt by the non-native speaker(s). Although silence can be a communicative and phatic act in that it 'can be a matter of saying nothing and meaning something' (Tannen 1985, 97), e.g. 'I do not want to contribute to this conversation', the kind of silence that is encountered in intercultural communication between people who are more or less unacquainted, is often unintended. Consequently, it is experienced as negative for both interactants in the conversation. It can be a sign of 'distance, alienation, even danger' (Crystal 1989, 10). Even though such silence does not have a proper content or lexical meaning, i.e. it does not carry illocutionary force, it indicates the psychological insecurity of the interactant(s) and as such it will be used to draw inferences about the speaker's attitude and mood. Hence, it is indexical in nature.

3.2. Verbal Tension Release.

The primary aim of the interaction, both at verbal and non-verbal level, is to anticipate or avoid silence, since its occurrence can be alarming and can sometimes even be regarded as impolite, e.g. when interpreted as a failure of positive politeness (see the following chapter).

Now speech is the intimate correlate of this tendency [i.e. man's gregarious nature], for, to a natural man, another man's silence is not a reassuring factor, but, on the contrary, something **alarming and dangerous** (...). The breaking of silence, the communion of words is the first act to establish links of fellowship (...). 'Nice day to-day' (...) [is] needed to get over the strange and unpleasant tension which men feel when facing each other in silence (Malinowski 1923, 477). [bold typeface my own]

The principal interest of participants in interaction lies in alleviating the threatening aspect of silence by a complex of verbal and non-verbal means in order to ensure that a channel of communication is established and retained in tact. The nature of the messages will therefore be indicative of this mutual wish. This is especially salient at the beginning and end of conversations. Referential speech in these instances often exerts a phatic function, which is clearly the case in, for instance, a 'nice day' exchange (cf. 2.3.2.). Thus, by activating this powerful means towards easing psychological insecurity, the interactants ensure that the conversational channel between them is open, in case they want to say something when they have something to say.

3.3. The Phatic Function: Summary.

In summary, the phatic function is activated when the language is specifically tuned into one of the constitutive elements of the communicative process, i.e. the channel. The verbal and non-verbal exchanges accompanying this function aim at establishing and retaining psychological and social contact between the participants in the interaction. Interlocutors most strongly feel the need to overcome the uncomfortable moments of silence in the marginal phases of the interaction. Establishing contact is situated at the beginning of the interaction, here the 'ice-breaking' function is activated. Maintaining social contact will normally be situated at the middle phase but also at the end, where a renewal of the social contact at some indefinite point in the future has to be implicitly agreed upon by the interactants. It is not what is said which is important, but the fact that something is said and the way in which it is said. Thus, the emphasis, which in interactions (or more

precisely transactions) traditionally lies on the message and the theme, is now shifted to the essential components: channel, addresser and addressee.

The affinity between the phatic function on the one hand, and the conative and emotive functions on the other, is such that I will group them together under the heading of interpersonal function. This interpersonal function represents a relationship of communicative management between an addresser and addressee. It is social or phatic: designed to keep open the physical and psychological channel between both interactants, and it is both emotive and conative: the speaker personally appeals to the hearer to engage in the interaction. It can be concluded that the phatic or interpersonal strand plays a vital role in most instances of interindividual communication.

4. The Phatic Function: a Terminological Approach.

Communication is a complex phenomenon. In the first section of this chapter, the approach adopted was mainly functional. In this section, communication will be viewed from a different angle. Starting from a philosophical distinction between action and identity-oriented communication, a series of different, basically social, qualities will be attributed to the communicative framework. This will lead to a review of the literature for the term 'phatic communion', mainly in a Malinowskian sense. The concept will be elaborated upon and a distinction between small talk and phatic talk will be made on the basis of interlanguage, ethnomethodological, discourse and pragmatic studies.

4.1. Phatic Communion.

4.1.1. Action-Orientation versus Identity-Orientation.

Grice (1975) introduced the distinction between conversations with a first and second order aim. First order conversations are action-oriented or transactional (cf. Cheepen 1988, 4): they are essentially referential in nature. Second order conversations are identity-oriented or interactional (cf. Cheepen 1988, 4) and social in nature. Action-oriented communication, the main object of linguistics since the development of speech act theory, involves the exchange of information and intentions. It is message-oriented. This function of language is referred to by the broad term 'instrumental' (cf. Schlieben-Lange 1979, 98), which is in contrast with identity-oriented communication involving the establishment and maintenance of social contact. Identity-oriented conversations are hearer-oriented. The

communication of information which is not essentially referential is classified as having a second order aim or being identity-oriented.

Although a distinction is made between these two categories, it should not be regarded as clear-cut. Communication can be mainly action-oriented, but still carry a strong identity-orientation. Even during the exchange of referential elements, the social strand can be paramount. (cf. the interrelations of the different communicative functions in 2.3.2. and 2.4.).

The fact that action-orientation has had priority in linguistic research can be derived from the first place it has been allocated in the terminology. I will hold the view throughout this thesis that all communication, or at least the face-to-face side of it, is in principle interactional or social.

4.1.2. Phatic Communion: a Definition.

Whenever the second order aim prevails, the language used can be referred to as 'phatic communion' (from the Greek *φαναί* ('to say') meaning 'of or pertaining to speech or verbal expression', and Latin *communio* meaning 'mutual participation'). The term originated in the English linguistic school. It was first introduced by the ethnographer Malinowski in The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages, a supplement to The Meaning of Meaning (Ogden and Richards 1923), a book which approaches meaning from a philosophical and semantic point of view. Malinowski's linguistic theory arose from studying 'primitive' mentality, culture and language in Papua-Melanesia, but he himself has pointed out several times that it is also applicable to present-day language. I will take his article as a starting point for the discussion of the phenomenon and relate it to later work on the subject. Malinowski defines phatic communion as:

a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words (Malinowski 1923, 478).

There are two phrases in this definition which deserve special attention, i.e. 'ties of union' and 'a mere exchange of words'. The ties of union resulting from this type of speech refer to phatic communion having a purely social function, i.e. it is 'speech in social intercourse' (Malinowski 1923, 452). Even if an incipient detente and creating ties of union is its prime function, phatic communion cannot be regarded as a positive phenomenon only. Malinowski indicates a sub-category to 'bonds of personal union between people' (Malinowski 1923, 480), which he calls 'the bonds of antipathy' (Malinowski 1923, 478). A more recent reference to the more

aggressive aspect of phatic communion and its dual character can be found in Turner (1973).

There is a negative counterpart of the friendly phatic intention of language in jeering and sneering, where the intention is this time less to convey information than to **exclude**. (...) Occasionally among good friends abusive language is used with friendly intention. A rather more complex intention, where a desire both to wound and to caress compete, may lead to teasing (Turner 1973, 210). [bold typeface my own]

However, most writers within the field hold the widespread view that phatic communion is non-hostile, inoffensive and uncontroversial. This has prompted Leech to label it as 'dull and pedestrian' (Leech 1974, 62).

The means to realize phatic communion is an interactive process of verbal exchange, which 'is almost an aim in itself' (Malinowski 1923, 475). Verbal items like formulae of greeting, pure sociabilities or comments on the direct environment of the interactants, 'are exchanged, not in order to inform, not in this case to connect people in action, certainly not in order to express any thought' (Malinowski 1923, 476). Phatic utterances serve another aim and sometimes their sole purpose is to prolong communication. In other words, they have 'the purpose of bridging the gap existing between man and man' (Vachek 1966, 33).

Laver, who has carried out extensive work within the field, has reassessed the term and accounts for different types, functions and realizations to which I will return in the next chapter in detail. He points out that the apparent simplicity of Malinowski's definition should not lead one to overlook the phenomenon's intricacies.

Phatic communion is not a simple phenomenon. Its function of creating ties of union (...) is achieved by subtle and intricate means whose complexity does not deserve to be minimised by the use of such phrases as 'a mere exchange of words' (Laver 1974, 1).

Indeed the use of the expression 'a mere exchange' suggests that this type of speech is basic and unsophisticated. However, a sociolinguistic analysis of human conversational behaviour results in the observation that:

most conversations are so banal that they must have some other function than communication. They are part of the theatre of every-day life, commonplace and unremarkable in one sense but extraordinary and intriguing in another, in that they require people to exhibit such finely tuned skills and provide us with so much evidence of basic human goodwill (Wardhaugh 1985, 47).

Phatic stretches of speech are certainly in the minds of many endowed with this ambiguity of being an everyday routine and at the same time a display of intricate skill. That these two sides are finely-balanced becomes especially apparent in cross-cultural interaction when one of the participants has not entirely mastered the game.

Now that the aim of phatic communion ('ice-breaking' and binding) and the means to realize it (verbal exchange accompanied by the appropriate non-verbal behaviour) have been established, its content or rather its so-called 'meaninglessness' has to be looked into.

4.1.3. Phatic Indexicality.

Although phatic interaction often takes place when people 'say something (to one another) even when there is hardly anything to say' (Ogden and Richards 1923, 11, also cited in: Malinowski 1923, 480), this does not mean that the 'surface meaning' of the words is irrelevant. In the literature the speaker's thematic range in these instances has very often been exemplified by, but also confined to, short comments on the weather (like the example 'nice day today'). The phatic function then 'is normally performed by utterances whose content seemingly centres on meteorology' (Vachek 1966, 33). For Malinowski however, social contact can be established with the help of a more widespread verbal spectrum. It ranges from 'a mere phrase of politeness' to 'enquiries about health, comments on weather, affirmations of some supremely obvious state of things' (Malinowski 1923, 476). Admittedly, the words are not primarily used to convey meaning, 'the meaning which is symbolically theirs' (Malinowski 1923, 478), but nevertheless:

the semantic meaning of the tokens selected in phatic communion is relevant to the nature of the interaction (Laver 1975, 222).

The verbal elements are indexical, in that the choice of the first phatic tokens in the interaction determines the semantic theme within the boundaries of which the consecutive tokens have to be chosen. This semantic theme is indicative of the 'context of situation', i.e. the entire mental and socio-cultural environment the utterance is embedded in (cf. Malinowski 1923, 465 ff., for the original term referring to an ordered series of events, and Firth 1957, 182, who adopted the anthropological notion and interpreted it as a schematic construct of language events).

In phatic communion 'the whole situation consists in what happens linguistically' (Malinowski 1923, 479), be it verbally or non-verbally. The verbal and non-verbal side of phatic communion mostly work together towards the same goal, but they can also function independently, as illustrated in the following extract from the novel Nice Work:

Across the table, Vic talked ramblingly about the difference the new machine would make to Pringle's competitive edge. She replied with phatic murmurs, not really attending (Lodge 1988, 285).

Phatic communion in this instance, appears to be an extension of certain non-verbal semiotic systems of human communication. Thus, the phatic function controls both the communicative contact established through a physical channel and through channels of a semiotic nature.

4.1.4. The Range of Phatic Communion.

Since the term has been coined, its meaning has often been reinterpreted and sometimes even restricted. A few examples will clarify this. Some authors use the concept exclusively to refer to politeness phenomena or strategies (e.g. Simpson 1989), others attribute 'phatic' only to christian names (e.g. Davies 1978) or regard it as a synonym for 'inoffensive talk' (e.g. Leech 1974). There are also instances in the literature of newly developed derivatives like, for instance, 'phatemes' being textual elements with a phatic function (see also: phatemes of making contact, contact maintenance, and vacation. Alber 1985). An altogether different usage of the term 'phatic' can be found in speech act theory, in which phatic locutionary acts are defined as utterances of meaningful sentences (cf. Austin 1962 and the controversy between Robinson 1974 and Keenan 1976).

The different interpretations of phatic communion have also often led to a restriction of its impact and occurrence in the different phases of conversation. It has been suggested that phatic utterances 'are not to be taken at their face value but serve exclusively to establish the first language contact between members of the speech community' (Vachek 1966, 33). Here the range of phatic communion is unnecessarily narrowed down to establishing initial language contact, but phatic communion also concerns final language contact and certainly retaining and maintaining this social contact. In Malinowski's terms, phatic communion or the phatic use of language clearly includes not only an extensive exchange of ritualized formulae at the beginning and end of, and maybe during conversations, but also lengthy stretches of verbal interaction.

Jakobson fitted these ideas very accurately into his communicative model. Thus, the phatic function of language focuses both on 'establishing and keeping the channel open'. This definition was expanded by attributing a predominantly phatic function to a message if it serves 'to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works (...), to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention (...)' (Jakobson 1960, 355). Here the semiotic nature of phatic communion comes once again to the fore. But apart from being indexical, it is explicitly stated by Jakobson that the phatic function can extend beyond the 'profuse exchange of ritualized formulas' to 'entire dialogues' (Jakobson 1960, 355). Thus, it is not only the short 'meaningless' interactions which perform this function.

In summary, phatic communion creates ties of union and perhaps 'disunion', it is an exchange of verbal and non-verbal signs, largely serving a social function. Apart from being indispensable for the marginal phases of communication, it can, in line with the original description, also stretch over long and elaborate portions of speech.

4.2. Phatic Talk versus Small Talk.

Before looking into the functions and aspects deriving from and underlying the social function central to the notion of phatic communion, I will try to create some order in the terminological chaos deriving from and related to the concept. Interpretation of the original concept intertwined with language users' own common-sense notion has led to an adaptation in various directions. As a consequence of this terminological disagreement several writers have reverted to other terms with which they refer to more or less the same entity. The examples which I will be looking at include the every-day term 'small talk' (Schneider 1988), the conversational label 'chat' (Cheepen 1988), and the more technical 'interpersonal conversation'. It will be shown that, although these and other terms are used independently in the literature, the definitions often overlap.

4.2.1. Working Definitions.

When reference is made to the actual realization of the phatic function, the term 'phatic communion' is often encountered in the literature. The adjective 'phatic' is nowadays widely accepted when referring to conversational routines, which are mainly realized as greeting formulae and pragmatic idioms (cf. e.g. Schegloff 1972, Schegloff and Sacks 1973, Laver 1975, Coulmas 1979, Ventola 1979, House

1982a, Kasper 1984). On the basis of this and other considerations a distinction will be made between phatic elements appearing in the middle phase of conversation as opposed to the marginal phases, i.e. opening and closing phases (cf. Laver 1974). The first category can be referred to with the every-day term 'small talk'. The second category comprises formulae and routines which, apart from being phatic in function, are also stereotypical in structure (as already incorporated in the terms themselves). I will label the speech associated with these marginal phases 'phatic talk'. Phatic talk and small talk together constitute phatic communion, which has to be understood as a set of verbal and non-verbal tokens aimed at establishing and maintaining social contact.

4.2.2. Small Talk or Phatic Discourse.

The term 'small talk' is normally not used in a theoretical linguistic context, except in work undertaken by people like Edmondson and House (1981, 211 ff.), Kasper (1984, 1 ff.), and Schneider (1987, 247 ff. and 1988). This is probably due to the term's negative connotations: one could, for instance, assume that it presupposes the existence of 'big talk' (cf. Schneider 1987, 250). However, small talk covers the core phase of phatic communion, and perhaps 'phatic dialogue' or 'phatic discourse' would be a less controversial term.

4.2.2.1. Small Talk as a Social Beneficial Good.

The idea of small talk has been conceptualized by, among others, Friedlaender, who wrote a short essay on the subject with the title Small Talk (1922). For Friedlaender, small talk brings dual salvation. On the one hand, it saves the interlocutors from silence, which is fatal because it usually means either that the participant in the interaction is 'coolly taking stock without so much as the distraction of having to keep up one end of a conversation' or 'it is extremely intimate' (Friedlaender 1922, 73). On the other hand, small talk relieves the interactants from silence's 'ruinous alternative', i.e. saying what they really think, which could mean assessing the companion as well as sharing general beliefs and thoughts. Small talk was 'invented not for the sake of saying something, but for the sake of saying anything' (Friedlaender 1922, 73). Friedlaender accordingly modifies the dictionary definition for small talk by noting:

What they omit to say is that these light trifles are only means to an end - the end of discovering whether we are likely to have anything in common with our companion (Friedlaender 1922, 76).

When the interlocutors have found out whether they have anything in common, they may then judge it safe or right to 'drop the shield and buckler against the shocking ravages of the truth' (Friedlaender 1922, 76 & 74), and engage in a real relation. Although small talk is equated with 'a shield and buckler against the shocking ravages of the truth', the author concludes that, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as small talk, because it is so transparent.

So our talk, make it as small as we please, betrays us to anyone with half an ear and the fraction of an intelligence (Friedlaender 1922, 76).

Small talk distinguishes itself from that part of the middle phase of conversation, in which language is used for transactional purposes (as opposed to interactional use), but it is also often interspersed with it and then referentiality loses its central position. Moreover, it differentiates itself from the marginal phases of interaction in which the language used is transitional and more pragmatically idiomatic and formulaic.

4.2.2.2. Small Talk as a Conversational Phase.

In Edmondson's and House's pedagogic interactional grammar of English (1981), a speech act based model, three conversational phases are specified. In each phase different types of talk can occur. The authors first distinguish between types of talk occurring in conversational Openings and Closes, which are 'peculiar to these phases of conversation' (Edmondson and House 1981, 199). They then indicate four types of Core talk, which are not exhaustive, but cover nearly all conversations: Business talk, Patch-Up talk, Argumentative talk and Small talk. A further non-phase-specific type is Corrective talk, in which 'Repair work is carried out in the middle of some other ongoing talk' (Edmondson and House 1981, 199).

Business talk is oriented towards a goal. The term 'goal' should be understood in a broad sense, in that it can be a plan or a decision, but always an intention for the future. It should thus not be confused with the term 'business deal'. Patch-up talk will typically result from an offence and may take the form of a complaint. Argumentative talk concerns the truth of a relevant issue and as such it is distinct from small talk, which is 'largely phatic and casual' (Edmondson and House 1981, 200). The goals of these last two types can be summarized as follows: Argumentative talk aims at obtaining ultimate agreement after the participants have announced their own views, whereas small talk aims at 'showing oneself as agreeable and

basking in the agreeableness of one's interlocutor' (Edmondson and House 1981, 200).

It is important to note that the different types of talk are not presented as mutually exclusive. Moreover, the division between them is not always clear-cut or in other words 'one type of talk may be included in another, or may tail off into another' (Edmondson and House 1981, 200). Regarding small talk in particular, it is noted that it may precede or follow any other kind of core talk; it does not exclude them. However, so-called ritual encounters often lack a core in the normal sense of the word in that they only consist of an opening and a close, as in the following example:

A: Hello Mrs Johns How are you today

B: Hello Mrs Peasbody I'm very well thank you

A: Good - well I must get to work now bye-bye

B: Good bye

(From Edmondson and House 1981, 200. Suprasegmentals omitted.)

A major observation within the phatic area is that 'the Opening of a conversation is characterized by much ritual or phatic communicative activity' (Edmondson and House 1981, 201) and also 'Closing talk is clearly ritual or phatic in nature' (Edmondson and House 1981, 210), a point which clearly supports the terminological distinction I intend to make between small talk as core talk and phatic talk as pertaining to the margins of communication.

4.2.3. Core Phase and Phatic Marginal Phases.

Small talk differs from the phatic margins in that it allows more time for the interactants to elaborate on whatever they have in common and it enables them to discover how to maintain the social contact established. Since small talk constitutes the core phase, it can stretch over several topics. Phatic communion in the marginal phases has at its disposal only a limited set of topics. They are highly ritualized. Small talk is less stringent as far as the use of ritualized formulae is concerned. This implies 'that it is more difficult for a recipient to generate predictions from a higher-order frame as to the content of his or her interlocutor's next move' (Kasper 1984, 12). In an extreme situation this can cause extra anxiety and call for pure phatic phrases to restore the interpersonal balance.

In reality the boundaries between the phatic marginal phases and main phase are often somewhat blurred. Within the marginal phases, tendencies towards longer phatic chunks, i.e. small talk, can be identified. The reverse happens as well, i.e.

within a phatic dialogue highly routinized elements can occur which normally belong to the phatic marginal phases like thanking, or paying a compliment.

The following example is taken from an interlanguage study within the field of pragmatics by Kasper (1984). The extract is situated in the opening phase of conversation and produced by a native speaker of English (E) interacting with a German learner of English (L).

E1: hello Angela

L1: hello Colin

E2: on your own then

L2: oh yes

E3: (sighs) god the rush hour

L3: (laughs)

E4: (sighs)

L4: you've worked until now

E5: yes I've been quite busy this afternoon quite busy

L5: oh what have you done

E6: oh I went to a lecture at three o'clock and then er talking to a few people
about it afterwards till about five taken me nearly an hour to get back
tube's terribly full uh you know what it's like

L6: well of course

(From Kasper 1984, 11. Suprasegmentals omitted.)

Kasper identifies the opening phase or phatic talk as consisting of turn 1 and 2. The small talk starts with turn 3. I would like to argue that the boundaries between the two phases can be interpreted in a more flexible way. Whereas turn 1 certainly is downright phatic, turn 2 cannot be described as a pure linguistic routine, although topic selection restrictions have been applied rigidly. After the routinized greeting (turn 1), a situational and neutral comment is being made, which is hearer-oriented (turn 2). The conversation then turns to situational commentary on the traffic, which is both speaker- and hearer-neutral (turn 3), before starting off on a discussion of E's (hearer-oriented) situational elements (turn 4). Whether turn 2 belongs to the opening phase or is the onset of the middle phase is debatable, since it is the first turn which in Labov's terminology (1970) deals with an AB-event, i.e. known to both speaker and hearer. Moreover, one could argue that the middle phase first starts with turn 4, in which after the learner's uncomfortable laugh, the sigh of the native speaker is immediately (and gratefully) taken as an incentive

to set off on a new referentially more full-blown topic, i.e. work. This last topic can still be regarded as phatic however, since it is uncontroversial and not threatening for the continuation of the interactants' social relationship.

5. Research on Phatic Communion.

After having looked at some terminological approaches to phatic talk and small talk, it may be interesting here to summarize two recent but very different empirical studies on phatic communion. The first by Schneider takes a discourse view, the second by Cheepen is set in an ethnomethodological framework.

5.1. Small Talk Within a Discourse Perspective.

A discourse analytic approach to the phenomenon of small talk has been provided by the German researcher Schneider in his book Small Talk. Analysing Phatic Discourse (1988).

5.1.1. Description of the term.

In defining his subject, Schneider relies on the notion of small talk as expressed by ordinary language users, half of whom are native speakers of English, the other half of German. In addition no distinction is made between the responses of both groups. Small talk then boils down to a 'rather positive and necessary thing', 'a form of interaction without real communication' (Schneider 1988, 12 ff.). The author does not draw a clear terminological distinction between on the one hand small talk and on the other hand phatic talk pertaining to the more marginal phases of interaction. Moreover, he does not account for the cultural-specific aspects of the phenomenon. Phatic discourse in general is linguistically characterised by the respondents as minimal, casual, face-to-face, unmarked spoken conversation. Gossip, jokes, and the like, are excluded from it, since the nature of the information exchanged here is not basically phatic, but in line with Malinowski I would argue that gossip is a forceful means for the interactants to alleviate possible threats to their own relationship. Cheepen refers to this as Scapegoat Repairs - a negative evaluation of people not present at the encounter in order to divert the attention of the participants from the offence against a person present (Cheepen 1988, 91 ff.). Jokes pursue a similar aim: the basic interactional result of which is that by laughing conversational tension is alleviated.

On a discourse level Schneider further characterises phatic communion as having many speaker switches, being potentially threatening, occurring with participants in a distant relationship, underlying politeness rules, avoiding silence or managing contact, and using safe topics. The utterances produced are deictic in nature, neutral in meaning and have phatic informative illocutionary force (cf. Schneider 1988, 40).

I will return to and elaborate upon some of these characteristics in the next sections (5.1.2. to 5.1.4.).

5.1.2. The 'Chimera' of Natural Data.

Schneider has based his research on a corpus of 56 audio-taped native-speaker British conversations supplemented by elicited data, originating from, for instance, role play. His methodological reflections concerning the collection of phatic discourse are mainly based on Stubbs' general outline (1983), focusing on the starting point that: 'the hunt for pure, natural or authentic data is a chimera' (Stubbs 1983, 225). The quest for 'natural' data is in the case of phatic discourse undoubtedly highly complicated by the complex and elusive nature of the phenomenon itself. Theoretical as well as practical problems have to be overcome (as will become clear from my own research later on).

Phatic discourse is a complex object requiring a complex approach which, in turn, presupposes a multi-layered discourse model (Schneider 1988, 2).

Although phatic discourse is not easily accessible for tape-recording (Schneider 1988, 109), Schneider has made a major contribution by collecting a corpus of naturally occurring data, in 50% of which he himself took part as participant observer and to which he contributed verbally. However, it is not stated explicitly whether he was present or absent in the other half. In order to ensure the best results with regard to authenticity, Schneider mainly opted for clandestine recording, but afterwards *often* asked for permission to use the taped material (the text is quite vague on the temporal aspect of this point). In some cases, however, he adopted the procedure of semi-surreptitious recording: the speaker had given general permission for being taped, but the researcher was the only person aware of the recording actually taking place. The participants were informed of the recording at a later date. This was also the basis for the work undertaken by Cheepen (1988), which will be covered in the next section. Suffice it to indicate here that semi-surreptitious recording as a procedure of data-collection provides valid data

for qualitative analysis. The reason for this can be found on the interpersonal level. The participant-researcher engaged in conversation with relatives or acquaintances cannot deliberately influence the tone or direction of the conversation, since unnaturalness of any kind on his or her part will be noticed by the interactant (cf. Cheepen 1988, 7). However, there are two major drawbacks in Schneider's case. On the one hand there is the fact that he engages in different types of interpersonal relations (see next section) and on the other hand only part of the material is directly made available in transcript form, scattered throughout the book.

5.1.3. A Formal Discourse Model.

The conversations, collected as described above, are used to provide an insight into native speakers' socio-pragmatic competence underlying their discourse production, thus leading to 'semi-formalized discourse models' (Schneider 1988, 2). It should be mentioned here that Schneider entirely concentrates on the linguistic aspects of the phatic discourse as does Cheepen (see 5.2.), whereas Laver (1975) also investigates the non-verbal aspect.

Schneider's model is descriptive, mainly focusing on formal, but also on structural and content aspects. His claim that small talk is prepatterned and repetitive is substantiated on a formal level, i.e. he draws up a skeleton for the internal structure of the different situations. Structurally, after studying topic organization, the data yield cooperative 'tails', which can be glossed as 'avoid silence until some other topic is found' and 'topping', glossed as 'agree emphatically'. In Edmondson's terminology (1981) these would be referred to as a combination of acknowledgement and reinforcement. As far as content is concerned, the findings can be summarized as an occurrence of echo and clarifying questions and an occurrence of frame elements as discourse topics (Schneider 1988, 284).

Because Schneider's approach is mainly form-oriented, he does not really go into the functioning of small talk, apart from extensively drawing on the politeness maxim. He heavily underlines the view that the two aspects, topic organisation and frame, are evidence of socio-pragmatic competence as far as phatic data are concerned. He concludes that the JOURNEY frame, a kind of skeleton containing the obligatory elements for representing the stereotyped situation in which locals encounter a stranger, is 'particularly relevant for teaching, i.e. teaching English as a second language' (Schneider 1988, 288).

5.1.4. Situational Comparability.

Schneider has to be credited for working on naturally occurring data, but it should be taken into account that, although he reports 15 1/2 hours of taped material, only 11 hours and 40 minutes are indicated as usable in the appendix (Schneider 1988, 321 ff.), only 58.9% is actually transcribed (Schneider 1988, 130), only 54% is produced by native speakers without non-native speaker participation, i.e. without input by Schneider himself or other non-native speakers (Schneider 1988, 127), and only two topics undergo in-depth analysis, i.e. weather sequences and the journey frame. Although the author does not indicate where in the interaction they occur, I will assume that weather sequences occur in the marginal opening, whereas the journey frame belongs to the core phase. It is unclear as to how much of the entire corpus or for that matter how many of the 56 conversations containing phatic discourse are represented in this analysis and constitute the basis for his model.

Schneider's role in the conversations is not explicitly stated in the material. Thus, it is not possible to judge its scope and effect on the discourse lay-out, even though he classifies himself as a 'near-native'.

A more serious point of criticism is that in many ways the conversations are not comparable as far as their different constitutive elements are concerned, although they are treated as such. They differ with regard to:

1. the number of interactants,
2. the relationship between the interactants,
3. the situational parameters,
4. the length of the conversations,
5. the topical layout,
6. the channel of conversation.

In the following I will go through all 6 points consecutively.

The number of interactants in the conversations varies between 2 and 8, with an average of 3. A preliminary question in this connection is in how far group dynamics change with group size. Or more concretely, how does group size influence phatic realizations? It has been assumed in most work within the area that interpersonal exchanges normally are dyadic or triadic.

The relationships between the interactants span a wide range: from conversations between acquaintances to conversations between fairly close relations, though again the exact nature of the relationships is not unveiled. True close acquaintances will according to Schneider never engage in small talk, a claim which I have strong

misgivings about. Although it directly relates to the quite negative trivial content attributed to the concept of small talk, Schneider overlooks the fact that, for instance, in the marginal phases even acquaintances will have to steer towards fulfilling the phatic function. This idea is supported by Edmondson and House (1981, 222), who do not regard small talk as a 'necessary evil thing'. They indicate that in casual contacts, whether among 'familiar' or 'non-familiar', opening talk (which I will call phatic talk) will naturally lead to small talk. Also Cheepen (1988) includes in her analysis a conversation with a close relation, i.e. a brother-in-law.

The situational parameters are a party, pub, hotel, café and theatre lobby and they are all treated without distinction. However, it has been indicated by several authors (e.g. Laver 1974, 5) that party talk or party small-talk, for instance, is something in its own right. It has special features like an intonation and facial expression appropriate to it. The question to be addressed here is whether small talk used in this situation should not be treated accordingly. Moreover, one could assume that the topic selection in this case is slightly different from that in a theatre lobby, where the situational parameter 'theatre play' will be an obvious conversational item during intervals. Thus, it should be borne in mind that the discourse lay-out of conversation in a theatre lobby might be more readily predictable than at a party.

The length of the conversations ranges from 15 seconds to 44 minutes and 16 seconds. Thus, it could be expected that a contrastive analysis of long and short conversations would give an insight into the similarities and discrepancies between the phatic marginal phases and core phase. Schneider however does not analyse the conversations in this way. The transitions from phatic marginal phases to core talk, for instance, are not accounted for, thereby not drawing attention to functional differences between them. As indicated above, Schneider analyses two topics in particular, which exemplify the problem of not distinguishing between the different phases of phaticity. Weather sequences will normally occur in the initial phatic phase and will therefore display a more routine kind of speech, whereas the analysis of the journey frame has to be classified under phatic core phase, having an altogether different topical structure.

Directly linked to this last observation is the diversity of the topic lay-out. A question to be asked here is whether topic changes are relative to the duration of the sequence. Different topics could, moreover, result in different findings, e.g. weather sequences are neutral and probably most frequent in a phatic situation. Their outcome cannot be treated as identical to comments made on a journey, etc.

Finally, the physical channel of conversation encompasses face-to-face interaction as well as telephone conversations. It has been indicated by Laver and Hutcheson (1972, 317) that in interaction by telephone the progress has to be managed without non-vocal cues such as gesture, posture and eye contact. Schneider however, does not take account of this parameter in the discussion. Although, the topical findings might be the same in the two instances, the fact that the interactants in a telephone conversation have to rely totally on verbal input, could, for instance, explain the occurrence of a verbal overcompensation strategy in the form of multiple cooperative tails and topping.

All in all, the major question to be addressed is the sense in which the different conversational variables actually influence the nature of small talk and thereby the nature of the analysis. It could very well be the case that adopting a broad spectrum of small talk facilitates a wide-ranging analysis. On the other hand, a more controlled analysis of the different aspects of small talk or phatic discourse would certainly add to the understanding of the different ways in which it functions.

5.2. Informal Conversation.

A function-oriented and ethnomethodological approach to the phatic phenomenon has been adopted by Cheepen in the book The Predictability of Informal Conversation (1988). She keeps close to the original idea of phatic communion as conceptualized by Malinowski (1923) in that she retains the broad view that phatic communion pertains to the marginal as well as the core phases. It is thus contrasted with Malinowski's Speech-in-action, in being unrelated to any action which the speakers may be performing at the time of talk. Its purpose is not to further any action in progress at the moment of speaking or in the future, but to enable the speakers to relate to one another and thereby it is 'deprived of any context of situation' (Malinowski 1923, 476). Because phatic communion has unjustly been (re)interpreted by other writers, the author opts for the term 'chat', 'a particular kind of dialogue in which the interactional aspect is paramount' (Cheepen 1988, 14). Phatic language then is equated with interactional language (cf. Cheepen 1988, 21).

5.2.1. Interpersonal Communication.

Cheepen's research centres around the interpersonal component of spoken communication as the more basic one on which the other strands of meaning, i.e. ideational (or referential) and textual, are built. She distinguishes between speech

encounters with an internal goal (and interactional language use) and speech encounters with an external goal (transactional language use). The first kind of encounters have an effect on the 'inner' shared world of the participants in the encounter, whereas the second kind have an effect on the outside world. The fundamental component of the interpersonal strand is relative speaker status, which the author analyses on the basis of semi-surreptitiously recorded dialogic encounters (see 5.1.2.). The interpersonal workings of transactional encounters are discussed on the basis of two job interviews and one taped tutorial, whereas the management and layout of interactional encounters are dealt with on the basis of 5 social chats between relatives, friends or acquaintances. The findings are supported by evidence from two existing corpora, i.e. the London-Lund corpus and Gail Jefferson's telephone dialogues (York).

5.2.2. Speaker Status.

In this section, I will summarize the main points of Cheepen's interactional model, focusing on the management of speaker status and the underlying structure of variable status encounters or chats.

Relative speaker status is the basis on which all encounters depend. Consequently, speakers in transactions are subject to strict rules as to the roles they may adopt relative to their status, the range of conversation topics at their disposal, and the responsibility for introducing them. Cheepen convincingly shows that the same principle holds for interactions. The main difference between both types of encounter is that there are no fixed institutional role types open to the equal participants in interactional encounters: it would be rather unlikely for an interactional exchange to be referred to as 'personal consultation' and for the participants to be identified as 'non-superior consultant' and 'non-inferior consultee'. The interactants therefore constantly negotiate and re-negotiate their roles in order to obtain a balance of interaction (cf. Cheepen 1988, 120). Moreover, speaker status also determines the management of topical progression in interactions.

Topical progression and more particularly topical unpredictability has not been without problems for analysis. According to generally held opinion variable status encounters or chats are unsuitable encounter types for macro-analysis because they are subject to constant topic shifting (cf. Brown and Yule, Crystal and Davy, Sinclair and Coulthard cited in Cheepen 1988, 47). Nevertheless, Cheepen shows that a loose macro-structure can be observed. It is based on the ways speakers

present the different topics which are covered in the dialogues and takes the form: Introduction, Speech-in-action, Story and Closing.

The first structural element, Introduction, refers to what happens at or near the beginning of a linguistic encounter and it is strongly ritualised. However, what would be regarded as reasonable and predictable openings frequently are partially absent in face-to-face dialogue, although not in telephone conversations. In this last instance, I would argue (in line with Laver and Hutcheson 1972) that the presence of 'complete' introductions is due to the fact that the interactants have to rely completely on the verbal elements in order to achieve cooperation, whereas in face-to-face interaction kinetic elements will most often accompany but can also substitute for them.

The second interactive category on which chats are based is Speech-in-action. It cannot be entirely understood in Malinowski's terms as 'vital work' or 'concerted human activity' (Malinowski 1923, 474), but the occurrence of actions helps to define the nature of the encounter. 'The casual chat between friends is defined as such by activities appropriate to the event, such as offering and accepting gifts and cups of tea' (Cheepen 1988, 49). A chat is an encounter involving the 'deliberate' participation of the interactants and the 'activity' they engage in is one of being together. Consequently, the participants will be seen to frequently comment on the various aspects of the immediate temporal, physical or social environment.

Most interactional language will be defined as Story, which is an informal kind of narrative in casual conversation as opposed to Malinowski's 'institutionalised' form of story-telling. Stories are characterised as displaying a coherent sequence of state-event-state, in which the participants are specified, a temporal location is explicitly referred to and some form of evaluation is present.

The last interactive category, Closings, is mainly characterized by formulaic utterances. They are not dealt with at great length, since due to practical recording constraints Closings are almost totally absent from the data: a cassette can only tape 45 minutes and informal conversations in Cheepen's case nearly always last longer. I will exemplify this four-part macro-structure with one set of data from Cheepen's corpus. The data were taped at a five-person social evening. The interactive categories are labelled with capitals.

INTRODUCTION

Geoff: Hello

STORY

Catherine: did you get lost then

Chris: (laugh) (laugh)

Geoff: no we didn't what we did however encounter was an accident on the road

Catherine: ooohhh - not to you

Geoff: oh no no no no - (inaudible) there were thousands of cars sort of piled up sort of miles back on the road that goes from Watford to

Catherine: ooohhh

Geoff: St. Albans

Catherine: oh my God

Geoff: (inaudible)

GEOFF OFFERS BOTTLE OF WINE

SPEECH IN ACTION

Catherine: how nice (etc.)

(From Cheepen 1988, 67. Overlapping symbols omitted.)

Cheepen's main argument that informal conversations are predictable can briefly be summarized in the following way. The interactional main phase of conversation has been assigned the discourse label 'Story' and can be characterized as having 'generally very short conversational turns in which both speech participants exchange roles of superior and inferior in the areas of topic introduction, topic shift and questioning' (Cheepen 1988, 120). In doing so speaker solidarity is created, which is the overall aim of interaction. It is expressed by frequent evaluative comments on various aspects of the Story. Thus, the interpersonal structure of interaction shows itself to be the 'major factor in the creation of the textual strand' (Cheepen 1988, 120).

5.2.3. Comments.

Even though Cheepen's study provides a substantial contribution to the understanding of interpersonal management, especially in the middle phase of interaction, there are some problems connected to her approach of phatic communion. Apart from the fact that she has redefined phatic communion as 'chat' and phatic language as 'interactional language', she has also adapted the traditional

Malinowskian terms Speech-in-action and Story. In doing so, she has revised the phatic concept, although this may not have been her intention. The interactional language occurring in the first and last structural categories of introduction and closing is narrowed down to consisting of (reciprocal) greetings and well-wishing. Whenever language can be connected to accompanying behaviour or the immediate environment of the interactant(s) it is no longer labelled as phatic, but as Speech-in-action. This view necessarily entails that comments on the weather cannot be regarded as phatic any more. In this light she also reassessed Laver's framework for Opening Phases (1975) which does not at all agree with the basic point of departure, since in his terminology Opening Phases occur after the ritualized greetings.

Not distinguishing between the realisations in the different interactional phases, Cheepen (like Schneider) loses out on the duality phatic talk - small talk. Small talk in her model could be associated with Story, which fills the gaps between transactional sections. Phatic talk as I see it occurs in the marginal phases of both interactions and possibly also transactions.

Moreover, the author confines herself to a macro-analysis of the conversational structure. If a micro-analysis of the linguistic content had been carried out, it would have become clear that interactional language functions slightly differently in Introductions and Closings from the way it does in the Story (as we will see later on).

To summarize, Cheepen gives a valuable insight into the functioning of language in that she shows that the central aim of conversation is establishing and managing the interpersonal framework to such a degree that the interpersonal management of relative speaker status in interactional and transactional encounters contributes towards ideational (referential) and textual meaning.

6. A Model of Phaticity.

On the basis of the material discussed, a (preliminary) model of phatic communion can be drawn up. Some of the elements touched upon will be elaborated in the next chapter.

6.1. The Phatic Strand as Basic Communication.

The most vital function of human behaviour is establishing, keeping up and (whenever necessary) restoring the interpersonal relationship between the interactants in transactional and interactional encounters. Thus, the purpose of

exchanging phatic communion is to enable the speakers to relate to one another through the use of language which can either extend over a whole encounter, be interspersed with non-phatic speech or pertain to the boundaries of the encounter. Phatic language therefore is fundamentally interactional in nature or in other words it is social in that it is generated by and accompanies social human behaviour.

The phatic function controls the communicative contact established through a physical channel and through channels of a semiotic nature. The phatic strand of meaning can be regarded as more basic than others: It is the basic form of communication and the first verbal function to be acquired by children.

... they (infants) are prone to communicate before being able to send or receive informative communication (Jakobson 1960, 356).

The function of phatic linguistic realisations in the different conversational phases can be summarized as: recognizing the interactants' presence, bridging the physical and psychological gap between the interlocutors and creating ties of union. The utterances achieving it are often referred to as 'chit-chat' or 'a mere exchange of words', since referentiality is not necessarily aimed at. Phatic talk is confined to phrases which are formulaic and ritualised in nature, whereas small talk is realized as phatic dialogues.

Phatic communion is governed by socio-pragmatic conventions, pertaining to, for instance, the management and government of status, and the choice of the topics to be raised. As we have seen in section 5, these conventions will take the form of expressions of solidarity and yield a production of cooperative tails. In the case of phatic talk the topics to be selected from are very limited and strictly governed, whereas in small talk there are no obligatory topics and there is no fixed order for them to occur in. However, the range of choice for small talk topics is not unlimited, i.e. it depends entirely on the situational context.

Phatic communion is a universal phenomenon, but its realization is culturally determined, thus depending on the interactants' socio-pragmatic competence, as far as reception as well as production is concerned. Since the phatic function is culture-dependent, it is not an innate ability. Consequently, some or all of it has to be learnt by non-native speakers.

6.2. A Linguistic Model.

Thus, in summary, the terminological model in a top-down perspective takes the form as schematically represented in Figure 1.3.

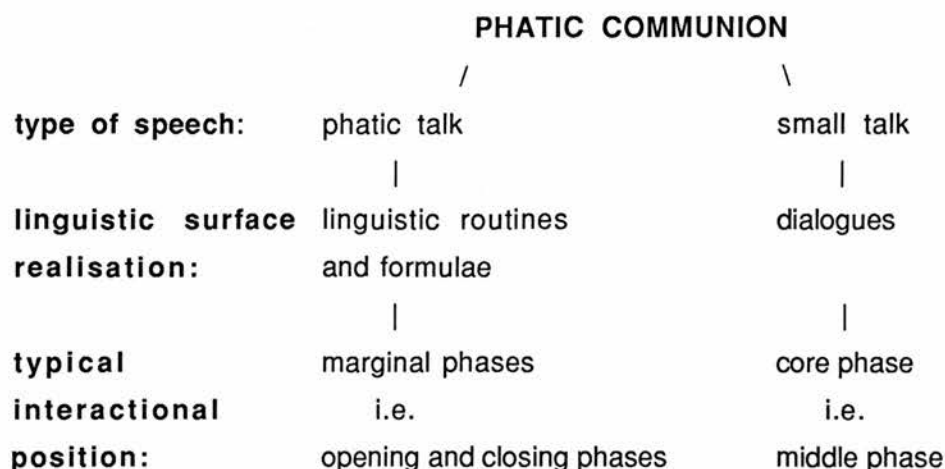


Figure 1.3.: A Model of Phatic Communion.

Phatic communion is a linguistic phenomenon, it is the set of all possible phatic realizations, in which the phatic function takes a central part. The function refers to the interactants being cooperatively engaged in interpersonal communicative behaviour. The linguistic categories which are directly related to it are phatic talk and small talk.

Linguistic routines and formulae constitute phatic talk. They are idiomatic and formulaic in nature, in that only a choice from a limited set of topics is allowed. Moreover, they carry a focus on status management. Longer stretches of talk, (phatic) dialogues, are the actual linguistic realizations of small talk. Here the interactants are allowed a wider range of topics to choose from.

As far as position in the discourse is concerned: phatic talk is confined to the margins of interaction, i.e. the opening and closing phases, small talk on the other hand pertains to the core or middle phase.

7. Summary: The Phatic Function and Phatic Communion.

In this chapter, after having introduced the communicative framework, the functional strands of spoken language were looked at. Major attention was paid to the interpersonal or social strand which is intricately related to the phatic function. The coming into existence of the phatic function was explained as 'ice-breaking' and 'binding' against the background of psychological insecurity and verbal tension release. In the second part of the chapter the term 'phatic communion' was defined

within its historical context and its positive and negative connotations were highlighted. The content of phatic communion was mainly seen as indexical.

A terminological distinction was made between phatic talk and small talk on the basis of work undertaken in the field. Both terms were allocated to different conversational phases, allowing for a different kind of topic selection and a different degree of ritualization.

Finally, two empirical studies on phatic communion were looked at in detail. The first provided an inventory of possible phatic topics and a phatic discourse model, the second focused on the underlying structure of variable status encounters. In both works the communicative components are diverse in nature. Cheepen uses them to illustrate an ethnomethodological issue, whereas Schneider establishes a phatic discourse inventory. Not only does the way in which the language material is used differ considerably, but this also holds for the design and method of the data collection.

On the basis of the discussion a model of phatic communion was drawn up to conclude the chapter.

CHAPTER 2

The Socio-Pragmatics of Phatic Communion

1. Introduction.

The main aim of this chapter is to outline a frame for phatic talk in the marginal phases of face-to-face interaction. Higher- and lower-order frames are taken as the cognitive basis for a description of the different constituents of phatic knowledge. Starting from an elementary level, linguistic items, verbal acts and discourse management will be characterized as well as the more complex and less concrete socio-cultural and situational knowledge. Some of the conceivable relations between higher- and lower-order frames and within the lower-order constituents will be sketched out.

2. The Cognitive Basis for Phatic Communion.

In order to understand a complex phenomenon like phatic interaction, it must be decomposed into a number of elementary operations working on different cognitive levels. The two levels to be distinguished are a constituent and a processing level.

In the following subsections the concept of frame will be presented in some detail, more particularly in relation to its relevance for interlanguage research. Without entering into a terminological discussion, the terms 'schema', 'script' and 'frame' will be used interchangeably.

2.1. Schemata as Building Blocks.

The linguistic realization of the phatic function relies on cognitive frames. A frame, schema or script is a metaphor for the organization of knowledge in a hierarchical system. The frame or schema theory approach has been developed within the area of cognitive science. It contributes towards explaining and predicting the nature of reality.

Schemata are units which contain essential, typical and possible information about concepts. They are cultural-specific and rely on conventions in a particular society. The concepts (used in the sense of Van Dijk 1977) are built up of constituents which by means of a parser are related to real-life data. Although schemata represent prototypical structures of knowledge within a certain culture, a schema

is not a static unit, but an active process. Schemata are based on the experience of prior events and organize the perception of new events and their constituents.

Within the hierarchical organization of knowledge two levels of frames or schemata can be distinguished. The higher frames contain abstract information, e.g. socio-cultural norms and values, context knowledge or knowledge of the world. The hierarchically lower frames carry concrete information, e.g. the linguistic elements and rules of a particular language. In pragmatic theory the type of knowledge contained in all these frames is referred to as declarative (Færch & Kasper 1984, 215).

Not only do the schemata provide the building-blocks, i.e. the constituents and concepts, for our expectations, but they also contain the procedures to select and combine them. When using language in communication, particular procedures or strategies are activated. Procedures in this context are to be understood as tools necessary to reach a particular communicative goal and solve problems *en route*. They are the means for 'performing a task as being composed of a fixed set of elementary information processes that are evoked by both aspects of the external environment and the internal representation of the problem' (Simon 1979, 85). This type of communicative knowledge is called procedural (Færch & Kasper 1984, 215).

Because schemata have this dual nature, i.e. they consist of declarative and procedural knowledge, they function as scripts for understanding, behaving and talking.

2.2. Interlanguage Schemata.

Even though schemata are socio-culturally determined, they are 'universal' for one person and perhaps even for one culture, as Schneider (1987) has shown in relation to topic-selection. The term 'universal' refers to the fact that a higher-order schema, which consists of a fixed set of socio-cultural concepts will be called upon and is retrieved from memory when it is receptively and productively required. In the case of foreign language reception and production it will be adapted to fit the situation in line with the socio-cultural rules of the language as known to the person requiring it. In other words, the learner will map the actual situation onto the 'foreign' socio-cultural schema.

In the report of the pilot project on Second Language Acquisition by Adult Immigrants the view is expressed that the interpretation and expression of meaning largely depend on the verbal and non-verbal system of the speaker's own culture.

The learner of a new language uses interpretative strategies acquired in his primary socialization in order to make sense of target language input (Perdue 1984, 86).

This implies that if in the foreign language there is no specific lower level frame available for the linguistic elements related to the socio-cultural frame, they will be interpreted in relation to the linguistic realization in the mother tongue.

This schematic and simplified account of the processing from higher- to lower-order frames is referred to as top-down processing. The reverse, data-driven or bottom-up processing, occurs when the speaker sets off with a subschema and then activates a higher-order frame. In order to conceptualize a hierarchically higher target frame the learner will actively process input from the higher- and lower-order source frames. However, higher- and lower-order schemata, representing on the one hand socio-pragmatic and on the other hand linguistic concepts and constituents, cannot exist without one another. The interaction's outcome relies entirely on the management of their interrelation. In other words:

Successful negotiation of meaning in any interaction depends on the extent to which cultural assumptions, and the linguistic tools used for signalling these assumptions, are shared by the participants (Perdue 1984, 291).

If the participants do not share cultural assumptions or lack the linguistic tokens for signalling them, the interaction and the message are quite likely to be defective in some way or other. It might result in transfer from the mother tongue into the foreign language.

The types of assumptions or higher-order frame constituents, ideally shared by the participants in the interaction, can be organized in several ways (cf. e.g. Van Dijk 1977 for a model of knowledge frames, Færch & Kasper 1984 for a comprehensive model of pragmatic knowledge and Schneider 1988 for a practical frame approach to small talk). In the above-mentioned field manual (Perdue 1984) the frame constituents are treated as variables of the interaction. Three different kinds of interactional parameters can be distinguished, pertaining to the situation, the participants and the purpose of the interaction. The interactants' assumptions regarding the situational parameters concern

the situation in which the interaction takes place, and especially such aspects of the situation as the participants' relative status and power, and how this determines appropriate behaviour (Perdue 1984, 291).

This has also been called context knowledge (van Dijk 1977). It is knowledge about the relevant context-determining factors. An important component is the speaker-hearer role relationship, as demonstrated by Cheepen (1988).

The second type of higher-order frame constituents relates to the participants in the interaction, which can be divided into:

speaker perspective, interpersonal relationships and co-operation: the signalling and interpreting of emotions and attitudes during the interaction, the effects of this on the positive and negative face-holding of the interactants, and the overall co-operation of the participants in negotiating meaning (Perdue 1984, 291).

This socio-cultural knowledge is universal but also heavily culture-specific. Important for verbal interaction in this connection are conversational maxims and principles regarding face.

Finally, there are parameters concerning goal-orientation or

the purpose of the interaction: the attitudinal and instrumental goals of the speakers, and whether these goals are mutually compatible (Perdue 1984, 291);

Even though goal-orientation is situated within declarative knowledge, specific communicative goals can only be obtained through activating procedural knowledge. It should be borne in mind that schemata are only representations. They are the building-blocks of cognition and 'form mediating links between the body of cultural assumptions and experience, and the language in which these assumptions are actualised' (Perdue 1984, 72-73). Their linguistic counterparts result from both top-down and bottom-up processing in that they 'are signposts both to and from the conceptual sketch that the speaker or hearer forms' (Perdue 1984, 73). This underlines their dynamic character.

3. The Socio-Pragmatic Frame: Politeness Phenomena.

In this perspective it is theoretically possible to envisage a 'phatic' higher-order frame, which carries particular types of socio-cultural and situational information. The socio-cultural information adhering to the phatic frame will take different forms, which it would hardly be possible to describe exhaustively, but researchers agree that politeness is a central concept.

The higher-order frame has a lower-order counterpart which includes three types of knowledge: guidelines about the verbal acts to be used within a particular socio-

cultural setting, principles for discourse management, and knowledge about individual linguistic elements and rules. This frame could, for instance, contain the following verbal acts: comment about the weather, inquiry about the interlocutor's health, personal inquiry or comment about issue(s) common to interactants A and B. Moreover, it would hold information about where exactly in the interaction these acts would take place, which kind of reply can be given to a first member of an adjacency pair, how it has to be modified, etc. Finally, it would include phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic knowledge to perform the acts and a specification of the individual elements' communicative potential.

This third section will be devoted to attributing content to the socio-cultural or socio-pragmatic phatic frame. Sections 4 and 5 will present situational information with regard to the interactants' attitudinal and instrumental goals. They will include a considerable amount of reference to lower-order discourse structuring.

3.1. Routines, Rituals and Clichés.

As social human beings, we seem to live under the constant obligation of acknowledging people with whom we are or become acquainted. In accordance with how well we know each other, this may lead to a considerable amount of routine exchanges. Routines, rituals and formulae are generally accepted as intrinsic features of phatic communion. For Malinowski formulaic phrases are a pre-eminent way to realize politeness. Also Jakobson attributes to them an important quality, since the realization of the phatic function 'may be displayed by a profuse exchange of ritualized formulas, by entire dialogues with the mere purport of prolonging communication' (Jakobson 1960, 355).

The terms 'ritualized formulae', and 'formulaic phrases' refer to the linguistic realization of the phatic function and belong to the area of routines. Conversational routines play a central role in linguistic action because 'without them, conversation would cease to exist' (Verschuere 1981, 134). Linguistic or conversational routines are generally recognized as automatized human practices which have a communicative function. A reply like 'You're welcome' to the utterance 'Thank you' is a largely automatic and not consciously generated linguistic action, carrying the important function of reciprocating. Omitting linguistic routines can cause considerable tension in interpersonal relationships. Consequently, they must have a central communicative purpose. Moreover, they have a universal tendency which is embedded in the interaction within a particular culture and as such they are opposed to idiosyncratic routines which belong to one individual.

Conversational routines are tacit agreements, which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member (Coulmas 1981, 4).

That members of a particular community share routines is shown by the fact that breaches in routines and cultural models have an alienation effect and are often used for humorous purposes, especially in the anarchistic, nonsensical comedy of the Monty Python-type (cf. Van de Poel 1982). Moreover, the sharing makes it possible to describe them in the form of discourse rules or socio-pragmatic rules. Although the occurrence of formulaic expressions and politeness formulae is universal (a view held by, among others, Brown & Levinson 1978 and 1987), their actual realizations vary cross-culturally. It is especially the socio-cultural features embedded in them which are often only partially understood or acquired by 'non-members' of a particular language community.

Two inherent features of the marginal phases in phatic communion are the verbal acts of greeting and leave-taking. In these cases the linguistic routines are often so fixed and patterned, containing formal ways of signalling virtually every part of the activity, that they have become almost ritualistic. The text-book example is the following exchange:

- (1) -How do you do?
-How do you do?

Rituals are opposed to routines in that they are more formalized. Moreover, they are acquired in a formal way and they are performed consciously. The fundamental difference between them is that rituals have a symbolic value, whereas routines belong to the make-up of every-day life, i.e. they consist of a regular set of short practices performed in a fixed order and they often do not seem to have a purpose. In this context the ritualistic nature of the marginal phases can be glossed as concerning 'formal procedures of a communicative but arbitrary kind, having the effect of controlling or regularizing a social situation' (Firth 1972, 3).

Routines and rituals are important as social mitigators: they can reduce both the anxiety in interaction and the possibility of misunderstanding. The verbal and non-verbal signs used in the margins of interaction are indexical in two ways. They first and foremost clear the way for the interpretation of the accompanying behaviour, but at the same time inform the participants in the interaction of the speaker's intentions, attitudes, etc. Thus, patterned routines carry verbal and non-verbal

information on a surface and an underlying level. Moreover, the behaviour itself underlines the social aim embedded in the linguistic routines.

A ritual can develop further into a cliché. A cliché has to be understood as a traditional form of human expression which has lost its original power due to repetitive use in social life. It does not add innovative semantic meaning to the interaction, but functions socially as it manages the interaction (cf. Zijdeveld 1979, 10). The cliché of shaking hands, for instance, is normally accompanied by the words 'nice to meet you' which assuming Grice's conversational maxims should be a true expression of the speaker's feelings towards the interactant, but semantically it is watered down to 'an opening move traditionally used in this particular social situation'. Its function is purely phatic in that it opens the channel between both interactants in a cooperative way.

Laver, in his article on linguistic routines and politeness in greeting and parting, equates routine behaviour with polite behaviour. He argues that:

(...) routine behavior is polite behavior. The linguistic behavior of conversational routines, including greetings and partings, as well as please, thanks, excuses, apologies and small-talk, is part of the linguistic repertoire of politeness (Laver 1981, 290).

Even though routine behaviour is polite behaviour, this does not automatically and necessarily imply that all polite behaviour is phatic. The observation that conversational routines accompanying routine or phatic behaviour constitute the socio-pragmatic phenomenon of linguistic politeness leads the discussion to the constituents of politeness, some of which will be explored.

3.2. The Two Faces of Politeness.

In the analysis of politeness phenomena by Brown and Levinson (1978 and 1987) the central concept is that of 'face' (cf. Goffman 1972). The authors distinguish between two components of face:

negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others

positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others (Brown & Levinson 1987, 62).

Every human being needs a minimal amount of personal autonomy but also requires interpersonal support to obtain a certain quality of life. Personal autonomy is related to the individual's territory and can be elucidated as 'the desire to be

unimpeded'. Interpersonal support is related to the individual's self-image: the individual would like his personality and his wants to be desirable. For instance, a speaker can formulate a command by making use of an indirect, but conventionalized structure and, in doing so, emphasize that there is no intention to force the hearer into an activity s/he would rather not engage in. If, however, a speaker orders a hearer around, s/he voluntarily impinges on the hearer's freedom by not leaving any options open, an act which is interpreted by Brown and Levinson as a negative face threat. A speaker can insult a hearer and, in doing so, threaten the latter's positive face, or, in contrast, a speaker can congratulate a hearer and hereby enhance the latter's positive face.

The concept of face is an extralinguistic entity, which is highly influenced by linguistic and conversational routines. The aspect of face which is under scrutiny here is the amount of risk encountered in conversational interactions. In this connection Laver has formulated the following rule:

(...) maximum risk (to face) leads to maximum routine, and (...) maximum routine reflects highest risk (Laver 1981, 290).

The risk to face must be minimized by adopting polite behaviour. Linguistically, high risk to face is reflected in the fact that there is very little choice of conventionally appropriate linguistic behaviour open to the speaker. Laver gives the example of a (social) introduction sequence by a third party. Politeness conventions in this situation are often almost totally prescriptive in terms of the phrases permitted and expected. They change however as the circumstances become less formal. Different levels of formality trigger off different degrees of risk. Consequently, different conversational routines containing different politeness formulae will be activated. In situations of this type, the risk to the learners' face will increase tremendously through a lack of appropriate lexical elements.

Politeness is a matter of the right expressions in the right place. It is regulated by social conventions. Nevertheless, it is a way of 'avoiding interpersonal conflicts rather than confirming social expectations' (Arndt & Janney 1985, 282, following Leech 1977 and 1983), thus tending more towards negative face. But there are supportive and non-supportive ways of expressing positive and negative feelings, which leads to the basic definition of politeness:

Politeness consists of knowing how to express positive and negative feelings without threatening one's partner emotionally (Arndt & Janney 1985, 292).

Politeness then basically aims at reducing 'friction in personal interaction' (Lakoff 1979, 64). This is done by means of a strategy for protecting the interpersonal face: Be supportive. Supportive speakers are characterized by the fact that they will verbally, vocally and kinesically confirm their partner's claim to a positive self-image, attempt to minimize personal territorial transgressions and maximize signs of interpersonal approval. What happens when politeness is activated can in Leech's terminology be described as: the hearer costs are minimized and the hearer benefit is maximized.

3.3. Politeness as Interactional Cooperativeness.

The distinction made in chapter one between transactional and interactional discourse types is relevant to the quality and quantity of politeness. Conversational behaviour that is consistent with the efficiency requirements of transactions will be characterized by close observance of Grice's Cooperative Principle: the interaction has to be worked at by all participants. The Cooperative Principle requires the participants to observe the following:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (Grice 1975, 45).

The realization of this principle occurs by means of linguistic routines which are culturally embedded. It can be supplemented and made more concrete by Lakoff's Rules of Pragmatic Competence: Be Clear and Be Polite. Politeness adheres to sub-rules which take the form of directives: 'Don't Impose, Give Options, Make A Feel Good - Be Friendly' (Lakoff 1973, 298).

In interactional discourse with its primary goal of establishing and maintaining social relationships, the Cooperative Principle is regularly overridden by the Politeness Principle in order to ensure that participants' face-wants are taken care of. In the most prototypical interactions, represented by phatic and small talk, politeness will dominate the propositional information, since securing absence of confrontation (Avoid Offence) and relational management are prevalent (cf. Lakoff 1989).

Politeness usually supersedes: it is considered more important in a conversation to avoid offense than to achieve clarity. This makes sense, since in most informal conversations, actual communication of important ideas is secondary to merely reaffirming and strengthening relationships (Lakoff 1973, 297-298).

Since the management of interpersonal relationships dominates informal interactions, politeness plays a vital role, or in other words, politeness underlies the phatic function. Although the relational component can be regarded as universal, its actual realization is certainly not.

While it is arguably a common feature of ordinary conversation across cultures to operate predominantly on the relational level, the ways in which politeness in conversation is jointly enacted varies cross-culturally (Kasper 1990, 206-207).

Not only does the realization of politeness differ cross-culturally, but also the perception of different degrees of politeness as, for instance, Blum-Kulka (1987) has shown in a cross-cultural experiment on politeness (and indirectness) in requests.

3.4. Cross-Linguistic Politeness.

In a thematic issue of Journal of Pragmatics (1990, vol. 14) Kasper reviews the main research on linguistic politeness from a first and interlanguage perspective. I will take up one point which is of particular interest for cross cultural phatic communion and discuss it against the above-mentioned background that phatic behaviour is polite behaviour but polite behaviour is not necessarily phatic.

The issue which is central in a phatic framework is the conceptualization of politeness as strategic conflict avoidance and social indexing. In other words, politeness operates as a linguistic action with specific communicative goals, but, it is also a matter of discernment (cf. Kasper 1990, 196). Speakers therefore will be observing the socio-culturally determined conventions of linguistic action and will perform a given type of linguistic action by means of particular politeness strategies. One main type of strategy in western society is the maximizing strategy (Leech). Maximizing strategies increase, for instance, the force of a compliment and thereby enhance the receiver's positive face needs ("You **do** look nice today"). But complimenting can also be associated with minimizing its own force as is the case across cultural boundaries in, for instance, Dutch, British, German and Scandinavian cultures. This is especially common in British culture where understatement is often used. Consequently, the mitigation of compliments, and for that matter the minimizing strategy, has to be explained in terms of 'a cultural ethos that imposes restraint on the expression of any kind of affect, on aggression as well as on appreciation' (Kasper 1990, 199). Both sides of the Goffmanian face

needs will thus be protected. If and when the speaker presents him- or herself as capable of required self-composure, the ego-defensive needs will be taken care of, and if the speaker shows respect for the co-participant's claim to personal space, the alter-protective needs are adhered to.

One main goal to be achieved in order to be regarded as a competent member of society is behaving adequately on these two levels. Non-members of a particular society are easily susceptible to an unwilling display of deviant (or according to some sources even deficient) polite behaviour. Whenever politeness norms are violated, non-native speakers especially run the risk of being regarded and treated as socially unequal. Thus, the occurrence of unmotivated rudeness in cross-cultural communication is regarded as an indication that socially sanctioned norms of verbal and non-verbal behaviour are transferred and take the form of cognitive concepts in the minds of members of different speech communities.

In this section, I have presented some elements from politeness theory which are relevant to the phatic framework. For a comprehensive overview of the different approaches to politeness the reader is referred to Fraser 1990 and Van de Walle 1991. I personally regard politeness as an essentially social interactional phenomenon which permeates all and every conversation and cannot be tied down to a specific set of (linguistic) forms and structures. Since politeness is a state embedded in every conversation, there is no such thing as structures being inherently polite or impolite:

We often take certain expressions to be impolite, but it is not the expressions themselves but the conditions under which they are used that determine the judgement of politeness (Fraser and Nolen 1981, 96).

Within an interlanguage framework it is not difficult to envisage the influence which a factor like, for instance, intonation can exert on politeness.

These ideas on politeness are advocated in the Conversational Contract view. There politeness is anticipated by 'some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine, at least for the preliminary stages, the limits of the interaction' (Fraser and Nolen 1981, 94). Regarding conversation as a contract between participants in the interaction is especially appealing, because a contract is not a static entity, but will constantly undergo renegotiation which is valuable when trying to understand cross-cultural interaction.

4. Interactional Aims.

The distinction at the cognitive level between higher and lower-order frames corresponds to the social and discourse organisation of phatic communion. In this section links will be established between the socio-cultural frame and its constituting linguistic elements, between how the linguistic elements influence the nature of the verbal acts, and between the verbal acts and their sequential and interactional organization or discourse management.

4.1. Interpersonal Management.

The important role attributed to politeness phenomena within phatic communion emphasizes the generally accepted claim that the primary behavioural implication of phatic communion is social, since it 'serves to establish and maintain a feeling of social solidarity and well-being' (Lyons 1968, 417). This can be narrowed down to the fundamental social function of phatic communion (or phatic talk) in openings and closings being the 'management of interpersonal relationships during the psychologically crucial margins of interaction' (Laver 1974, 2).

In order to reach this goal, the interactants rely on their procedural knowledge which selects and combines elements of the multi-faceted declarative knowledge. The kind of declarative knowledge required for phatic interaction can be labelled social or pragmatic, i.e. it is part of the language user's general communicative knowledge and contains information about how verbal acts receptively and productively function within particular contextual and cotextual boundaries.

However, interpersonal management occurs not only on a linguistic level, but also on an extralinguistic and paralinguistic level. Extralinguistic features are not verbal but vocal, an example of which would be voice quality. Extralinguistic elements are invariable and personal, i.e. they are often distinctive aspects of a person's identity and personality. Paralinguistic phenomena are culturally determined, non-linguistic elements which have communicative force and are an intrinsic part of conversational interaction (cf. Abercrombie 1972, 64-70). They are sometimes referred to as kinetic or proxemic elements. It is possible to distinguish between three categories:

- a. speech and all its suprasegmental characteristics like, for instance, tone of voice,
- b. gestures, postures, body-movements and orientation, proximity, and physical contacts,
- c. eye-contacts and facial expressions.

The linguistic, paralinguistic and extralinguistic levels all contribute towards the realization of an interpersonal relationship and work towards the same aim, i.e. getting the message across. They are not to be thought of as acting independently. As pointed out by Laver and Hutcheson (1972, 11-15) the different communicative phenomena should be thought of as woven together to form the fabric of conversation. The particular texture of an interaction can then be understood only by looking into the relationship of these different strands. Within an interlanguage perspective this means that the way in which the learner conceives the interrelation of these levels and the ensuing communicative force is vital, since it will have a direct bearing on the performance in the target culture.

4.2. The Indexical Nature of the Verbal Elements.

Throughout the continual management of the interpersonal relationship, the interactants exchange verbal and non-verbal information about their 'identities, attributes and attitudes' (Laver 1974, 2). The signals they send out and receive are used as input for the decisions to be made and steps to be taken in the managerial process.

These indexical facts are not random, they have to be uncontroversial and are chosen from a limited set. Their choice has repercussions on the nature of the interaction, i.e. they constrain the human contact within the boundaries of what is socially permitted. The speakers decide autonomously on the selection and the distribution of this information within the phatic boundaries set by themselves and (re)negotiated with the interactants in the conversation. The exchange of indexical elements entails both disclosure and closure of the speaker for the hearer, i.e. even though they say something about the speaker's identity, attributes and attitudes, they leave a lot unsaid. This has led some authors (e.g. Wardhaugh 1985, Schneider 1988) to advocate the view that the ties of union created in phatic communion cannot be of too intimate a nature and that phatic communion will normally not occur between close friends. However, phatic communion can fulfil a useful function even in interaction with relatives and close friends. This becomes clear when it is absent, because then

all form of communication seems to break down, as in the following example, in which Adrian Mole cries out:

I can't think of anything to say to my mother. I always knew I had no small talk, and now I know I've got no big talk either (Townsend 1984, 74).

Moreover, also in these constellations it cannot be denied that phatic talk is a *sine qua non* in the marginal phases at least as a way of physically establishing the channel of communication and facilitating the transition to 'real' communication. However, interaction will take different forms whether it is sought with, for instance, a total stranger or with a distant acquaintance.

Before being able to select the appropriate indexical information, the speaker will have to face up to and solve hearer-related and context-dependent problems of the following type:

- a. How do I most easily 'intrude' into the interactant's privacy?
 - b. How do I acquire information about the other person?
 - c. How do I get an insight into the other person's status relative to my own? Can I deduce this information from situational factors?
 - d. How do I assess the other person's cooperativeness in the conversation?
- etc.

At the same time the speaker will have to take concrete steps towards sending out similar signals to the hearer (cf. Wardhaugh 1985, 118 ff). It is precisely these signals which contain a command about how the report or comment is to be interpreted by the listener. In her article Small Talk as Social Gesture, Beinstein (1975) distinguishes between two kinds of meaning in every message. Apart from the actual comment on the situation, a command for its interpretation is embedded in the message. This command aspect contains the following directive:

how the listener is to regard the report, the speaker's attitude towards it and/or his/her attitude towards the listener (Beinstein 1975, 147).

Phatic communion then has to be viewed as 'a comment about the situational and/or social relationships of its users' (Beinstein 1975, 147). The interactants engage in a conversational routine which carries a slightly positive overtone using linguistically uncontroversial, i.e. 'superficial' (Beinstein 1975, 147) material, but with an underlying indexical function. In doing so, and in answer to a fundamental human need, contact is established without, however, too much

personal involvement. The interactants protect themselves from each other's potential disapproval, preventing conflict and restoring any disagreement that may have arisen, which leads Beinstein to conclude: 'Small talk is thus a gesture that protects the personal space of communicators' (Beinstein 1975, 148).

In summary, the social function of phatic communion, i.e. the establishment and maintenance of social solidarity, relates to the exploration of the existing and developing social relationships between the interactants and the situational context(s). This function is obtained or realized by means of the careful management of the interpersonal relationship (closure vs. disclosure) and relies on indexical information embedded in the verbal acts and exchanged between the participants in the conversation.

5. Levels of Interaction.

After having looked at some aspects of phatic higher-order frames and establishing some of the relationships held between the lower-order frames, the last section of this chapter will be devoted to the form of the (pragmatically coloured) discourse knowledge required in the margins of interaction.

Apart from and secondary to establishing and maintaining social relationships between interlocutors, phatic communion also serves a discourse analytic function, i.e. an interactional function. It signals the transition from silence to interaction as well as the transition from interaction to a contactless situation. It is an indication of on the one hand contact being established and on the other hand contact being brought to an end.

Ideally, transitions will be smooth without obvious silences, gaps or lulls or at least the aim will be that the interactants do not perceive them as impolite, embarrassing (cf. Schneider 1987), or threatening. Because these transitions are potentially dangerous at a psychological level, they are alleviated by means of verbal and non-verbal routines. Nervous laughs are a generally acknowledged way of overcoming tension. An indispensable condition for the interaction is psychological solidarity. Challenging moves in the conversation are therefore avoided and the topics tend to be uncontroversial, or at least make 'common sense'.

Whether performance in this field is successful or not will influence the social relationship between the interlocutors involved. The speaker and the hearer consolidate their social roles, which determine the nature of these routines.

Structurally (and ideally), face-to-face interaction between cooperative language users consists of three phases, in each of which phatic communion can occur: i.e. the opening, middle and closing. There are two major differences between the marginal phases as opposed to the core phase. On a non-verbal level the marginal phases have the unique dimension of physical approaching and distancing and on a verbal level they display an extensive use of formulaic expressions typical of either the opening or the closing. On each level different acts or speech events contribute towards the pattern of the structure. The way in which they are organized internally as well as in relation to other verbal acts plays an important role.

The most substantial characterization of the initial and endphase functions and their linguistic realizations has been provided by Laver (1974, 1975 and 1981). In the following paragraphs his model will be closely followed when looking at the ways in which interactional management is carried out in the marginal phases of conversation. The focus will be on the different goals that the interactants pursue in these phases. In order to describe them the different strands which have been previously introduced will be brought together.

5.1. Initial Phase Aims.

Within the initial phase the interactants pursue three kinds of aims which are realized as linguistic routines and remain in force throughout the interaction, i.e. also in the middle phase, until they are taken over by the mechanics of the endphase. The exploratory, propitiatory and initiatory aims underlie the social function of phatic communion.

Although Laver applies the term 'function' to these mechanical, managerial processes, it has to be understood as the function of interaction (and not language). In order to avoid confusion with previously adopted terms (like 'phatic function'), I will refer to them as interactional 'goals' or 'aims'.

5.1.1. The Propitiatory Aim.

A first important goal, which has already been mentioned in the previous chapter (section 3.), is propitiatory and is explained as:

(...) defusing the potential hostility of silence in situations where speech is conventionally anticipated (Laver 1974, 4).

A frequent occurrence of starters (i.e. gambits) like 'er' or 'well' at the beginning of the interaction is *inter alia* an indication of disarming the interlocutor and

showing one's own vulnerability. By (perhaps unconsciously) adopting this strategy, the interactants get into the same frame of mind, which ranges from a neutral to a positive attitude towards each other.

This same propitiatory aim is in a sense also pursued in the phatic endphase when the parting of both interlocutors happens in a friendly atmosphere, which is realized by means of a particular choice of lexical items, suprasegmentals, etc. This is done in order to keep the channel open for future encounters, as will be shown in 5.2.

5.1.2. The Exploratory Aim.

Subsidiary to the overall social function of establishing contact is the exploring activity (cf. Friedlaender 1922; see previous chapter 4.2.2.1.). Especially in the marginal phases the interactants are psychologically and linguistically exploring one another, which implies that if possible they should find common ground to continue their relationship. In time the interactants' second goal is exploratory

(...) in that it allows the participants to feel their way towards the working consensus of their interaction (Laver 1974, 4).

This is partly achieved by the perception of each other's relative social status, but also personal characteristics of such as regional origin, age, sex, health, mood and the like can be derived, since the exploratory aim can be realized both linguistically and kinetically. Its success will be expressed by means of verbal or non-verbal means, ranging from positive utterances to a mutual feeling of empathy. If a favourable outcome is obtained, the relationship will be continued and consolidated.

5.1.3. The Initiatory Aim.

The third objective to be achieved in the initial stages of interaction is initiatory

(...) in that it allows the participants to cooperate in getting the interaction comfortably under way, using emotionally uncontroversial material, and demonstrating by signals of cordiality and tentative social solidarity their mutual acceptance of the possibility of an interaction taking place (Laver 1974, 5).

This aim is the most verbal in nature and will most closely observe conversational routine behaviour, at the same time adhering to the demands of uncontroversiality and supportiveness.

It already indicates the transition to the middle phase or rather that the initial phase is coming to an end.



5.1.4. Linguistic Tokens.

Linked to the initial phatic phase are three categories of phrases or linguistic tokens, which belong to the repertoire of politeness phenomena: neutral, self- and other-oriented.

Neutral tokens have a neutral or uncontroversial content. They are phrases about elements common to both speaker (A) and listener (B), i.e. they refer to AB-events (cf. Labov 1970). Most often they are statements about the weather or the immediate context of the situation. Both speaker and listener will be able to evaluate the truth value of these statements. An apology like, for instance, 'excuse me' or 'have you got a minute' is propitiatory in nature. Tokens of this kind are used as lubricators for the interaction and can be considered part of this neutral category.

The second category consists of self-oriented tokens, i.e. comments on the speaker (A) or the speaker's direct environment by the speaker him- or herself. Self-oriented tokens are speech events which can be classified as A-events (cf. Labov 1970). Linguistically, a verbal item like 'I' will be inevitable. The utterances most often take the form of statements (cf. Laver 1974, 6).

Finally, the third category contains other-oriented tokens, which can be characterized as phrases that refer to factors concerning the listener (B), i.e. they are B-events (cf. Labov 1970). The lexical element typically adhering to the other-oriented category is 'you', often appearing in a question (cf. Laver 1974, 6), e.g. 'Do you come here often?'.

Laver draws up a model in which there is a free choice from any of the three categories when the interactants are well-acquainted with one another. However, the self-oriented category only occurs in interactions with an addressee with a relatively lower status than the speaker's and the other-oriented tokens are the only ones available to the speaker when interacting with someone of relatively higher status. This last category also applies to service-encounters like, for instance, 'at the doctor's', 'at the station'.

There are obviously exceptions to the rule, for instance, different tokens can be strung together as in the following example from the London-Lund corpus (Tape - S.2.7.):

Host: hello
Incomer: hello, sorry I'm late
Host: (laughs) that's alright are you -

After the reciprocal greetings, a neutral token 'sorry', which is also concerned with the action of the speaker and shows concern for the hearer (see Cheepen 1988, 64, for the term 'a shared world token'), is followed by a self-oriented reference and an other-oriented reply.

Breaches of this sort are more often than not conscious and serve their own purpose:

The effect of violations of the polite norm is often to negotiate a greater solidarity between participants (Laver 1981, 302).

In an interlanguage perspective, however, this might result in augmented anxiety and uncertainty on the part of the learners.

5.2. Phatic Endphases.

The use of linguistic routines in the endphase of conversation is often quite extensive, which might suggest insecurity on the part of the interlocutors as far as retaining face is concerned. It is especially apparent in this phase that communication is a cooperative venture, mainly aimed at retaining mutual supportiveness or as Wardhaugh explains: 'Endings become a particularly delicate matter. They cannot be arbitrarily imposed by one party on another; they must be negotiated in some way' (Wardhaugh 1985, 49). Through a lack of negotiation or a different interpretation of the closing routines they often fall through. This can be explained in the following way:

erstrebt is aber oft nur eine Perpetuierung des Abschieds, da offenbar die rituelle Zusicherung, daß die bedrohliche Trennung bewältigt werden kann, nicht ausreichend ist (Schönfeldt 1986, 337).

The boycott of the verbal act has to be understood as an indication that the closing ritual used is not a sufficient assurance of the positive nature of the encounter. This is a clear indication of the fact that the social outcome of the interaction is conditional upon the participants recognizing the closing phase as such and consequently tackling it cooperatively, so that after a ritual closing exchange (e.g. 'goodbye') a successful silence is obtained. But there are certain other rules to be lived up to as well.

If you 'break off talks' with others you make a very strong gesture of non-cooperation, for you deliberately choose to violate the normal assumption that talk will prove to be mutually satisfactory and beneficial to all parties. Cutting talk short is therefore a clear indication of failure or disagreement (Wardhaugh 1985, 49).

The interactants have to have good reasons for breaking the rules, which otherwise would be translated as not being supportive or polite, and in the end would boil down to them being regarded as unsocial.

5.2.1. Linguistic Routines and Social Implication.

In western (European) society, my field of analysis, the linguistic routines in the closing phase have two basic social implications: achieving a cooperative parting and consolidating the existing relationship. The linguistic routines involved serve the two aims in a tightly structured way as indicated in the following quotation:

Firstly, it allows the participants to achieve a cooperative parting, in which any feeling of rejection by the person being left can be assuaged by appropriate reassurance from the person leaving. Secondly, it serves to consolidate the relationship between the two participants, by means of behaviour which emphasizes the enjoyable quality of the encounter, the mutual esteem in which the participants hold each other, the promise of a continuation of the relationship, the assertion of mutual solidarity, and the announcement of a continuing consensus for the shape of encounters in the future (Laver 1974, 12).

Although both aims will mostly be pursued consecutively, cooperative parting can be said to have priority over consolidating the relationship. It is an intricate and necessary part of the final phase and, more importantly, successfully mitigating the potential source of rejection felt at this stage of the interaction has immediate effect on the relationship. This is opposed to consolidation which reinforces positive features already present in the relationship and which aims at an indefinite time in the future. What is ultimately aimed at in the phatic endphase is that the channel between the two interactants is linguistically and socially 'kept open' for further use.

5.2.2. Mitigation.

Mitigation in cooperative parting is usually related to the speaker's negative face and often contains a reason for terminating the encounter as if it were a compulsion external to the speaker (whether true or not), as in the following example:

(2) I have to go home. I have a lot of homework to do.
(Own data.)

A sub-category can be indicated when the speaker turns the interactant into the compelling external authority. In this case the mitigation often functions as imposition minimizer. Compare:

(3) Mustn't keep you.

(Own data.)

(4) I guess you have to get on, I'll be going.

(From Laver 1974, 11.)

In Laver's framework mitigation will typically use self-oriented tokens. The different types and features of mitigatory tokens will be extensively dealt with and exemplified in the following chapter.

5.2.3. Consolidation.

Consolidation addresses the positive face of the interactant(s) and is applied in order to strengthen the relationship so that it becomes more effective and/or secure. There are four realizations summarized by the following keywords: esteem, care, admonition and appointment.

A first way to obtain consolidation is by commenting on the quality of the encounter by means of an expression of esteem for the participant in the conversation. An example is given in the farewell exchange:

(5) -Cheerio then and don't forget to keep in touch.

-I won't. It has been so nice being here with you.

(Own data.)

After acknowledging the mild admonition 'don't forget to keep in touch', the speaker emphasizes the enjoyable quality of the encounter by overtly referring to the interactant: 'it has been so nice to be here with you'.

A second way of consolidating is by using an expression of caring for the future welfare of the interlocutor. A reply to the same first turn from (5) is:

(6) I'll write to you as soon as possible and have a good time. Bye.

(Own data.)

In this instance the speaker asserts his or her solidarity with the listener. Consolidation can also take the form of a benevolent admonition, as in:

(7) See you and be careful.

(Own data.)

Fourthly, consolidation can be an explicit arrangement for the continuation of the relationship as in:

(8) I'm looking forward to meeting you again. How about next week?

(Own data.)

This last example contains several factors contributing to the same aim. It implies the positive quality of the present encounter, contains the promise of a continuation of the relationship with a definite proposal and presupposes a consensus (either negotiated or not) for the shape of encounters to come.

As far as co-occurrence of mitigation and consolidation is concerned it is interesting to note that

The polite norm in the closing phase, between participants who do not meet often, seems to be to use at least one mitigatory or consolidatory phrase, together with some appropriate formulaic phrase of parting (Laver 1981, 303).

Even though the mitigatory and consolidatory routines in the endphase often can give the impression of being mechanical and superfluous, they are important instruments for creating a personal and interpersonal identity in interaction.

6. Summary.

6.1. Elements Constituting Phatic Communion.

An inventory of the frame elements characterizing phatic communion takes the following format. Phatic communion refers to a dyadic or triadic encounter in which the participants are in relatively close proximity and generally in a relation with a low or medium degree of intimacy, although phatic talk between relatives is not impossible.

The interactants are under the obligation to converse in order to defuse the potential hostility of silence without, however, an immediate tangible aim, apart from social comfort. The linguistic, extralinguistic and paralinguistic elements all work together towards cooperatively achieving this feeling of social well-being.

A major concern of the speaker and listener in the interaction is to protect their own face (or space). As the language users adhere to politeness and other cultural (socio-pragmatic) rules, they will, for instance, show positive politeness in not becoming too committed, but they will also live up to the requirements of being a supportive interactant. In doing so, they reveal, but also conceal, vital indexical

information in order to protect their personal space. Thus the ego-defensive and alter-protective needs are adhered to in a non-aggressive, non-committing way and through personal, deictic or 'neutral' topics interspersed with self-oriented, other-oriented and 'neutral' tokens.

6.2. A Frame for Phatic Communion.

In this chapter abstract higher-order and concrete lower-order frames were introduced as representations for the organisation of knowledge. Higher-order frames carry socio-cultural and situational information. Lower-order frames include knowledge about the verbal acts to be used, the principles for discourse management, and an index of individual linguistic elements and rules.

Knowledge about the (higher- and lower-order) building-blocks required to verbally engage in a particular situation is referred to as declarative knowledge. Knowledge about how to select and combine relevant information from these units is called procedural.

Three types of higher-order frame constituents were distinguished pertaining to the situation, the participants and the purpose of the interaction. A central socio-cultural concept within the 'phatic' frame is politeness. Polite behaviour arises from routine behaviour. Conversational routines, rituals and formulae are inherent features of phatic communion. In the discussion politeness was linked to the Cooperative Principle. Nevertheless, adhering to the ego-defensive and alter-protective needs, i.e. positive and negative face, is a more basic requirement for the interactants to be regarded as competent members of society.

Lower-order discourse management was related to interpersonal management which heavily relies on the indexical information embedded in the verbal acts exchanged.

The last section of the chapter was devoted to a description of the marginal phases of interaction, their discourse structure, aims and linguistic content. Important for the further development of the argument is the dual character of phatic endphases as on the one hand achieving a cooperative parting through the linguistic routine of mitigation and on the other hand consolidating the existing relationship through linguistic reinforcement.

As far as interlanguage is concerned, it is theoretically possible that learners encounter problems on the two frame levels. Problems may present themselves with regard to the availability, i.e. recognition and/or retrieval, of higher-order and lower-order constituents, concepts or frames, but the learners might also encounter difficulties in processing the right information at a lower level, higher

level or from one level to another. It is theoretically possible to envisage the following situations.

- a. Lower-order declarative problem: Learners of English do not have the linguistic element 'please' at their disposal or they do not have the correct rules for its usage.
- b. Higher-order declarative problem: Learners of English do not know in which socio-cultural context to use the politeness marker 'please'.
- c. Learners of English underuse or overuse a particular politeness marker, which is a deviation from generally accepted socio-cultural rules.

These problems will systematically be explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

Interactional and Illocutionary Model of Analysis

1. Introduction.

In the previous chapters I first looked at the intricate nature of interpersonal communication and presented different approaches to phatic communion. Subsequently, an attempt was made to outline a frame for phatic talk. This third chapter is an introduction to the practical work undertaken against the above-mentioned background. Since I am mainly interested in interlanguage data, the procedures are explained in that light, but they also hold for the collection of the native speaker data.

The chapter consists of three main parts. First, the instrument and procedure for data collection is described in some detail. Then, practical as well as theoretical methodological reflections on the nature of the data are provided. Finally, the analytical framework and coding procedures are presented and exemplified.

2. The Instrument for Data Collection.

2.1. The Discourse-Completion Task.

The instrument used for data collection was a Discourse-Completion Task which was administered orally. It was originally developed as a written task for comparing the speech act realization of native and non-native Hebrew speakers (Blum-Kulka 1982 following Levenston). In general terms, the items can be described as consisting of a description of the situation, its setting and social characteristics, followed by an incomplete dialogue, to which the respondents have to add a particular speech act. On a large scale this type of task has been used in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project under the name Discourse-Completion Test (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989).

The task used for this current purpose consists of scripted dialogues that represent socially differentiated situations. Each item contains three elements. A short introductory description of the situation provides the interactive endphase's general situational background. This part of the situation I will refer to as the descriptor. Then a dialogue follows, from which the second turn has been omitted. The first turn or native speaker contribution to the conversation, to which the non-

native speaker is required to provide an appropriate second turn or illocutionary uptake, I will call the stimulus. The uptake constitutes the closing reply of the sequence. This general structure is exemplified in (1):

(1) Native speaker descriptor and stimulus:

You are visiting a friend. You're about to leave when she asks:
How about a cup of tea before you go?

Non-native speaker reply:

In the original Discourse-Completion Test the first turn had to be completed, whereas in this design, the illocutionary uptake has to be provided by the informants. This means that contextual and co-textual clues for the type of uptake needed to complete the dialogue are included in the first part of the discourse (the descriptor and stimulus), as is the case in natural face-to-face interaction. An example of a native speaker stimulus containing co-textual clues for the kind of uptake needed to complete the dialogue is:

(2) You must have some more apple pie.

(said with the sentence stress on 'must')

In this case the interactant cannot refuse the dessert without making excuses for doing so. If, however, the interactant accepts the dessert, the following elements will have to be included in the reply: the speaker indicates that s/he initially had some reservations but has been persuaded to have more dessert and consequently s/he will express gratitude. This interactive outcome is based on contextual clues contained in the descriptor: 'you have had an **excellent** lunch, **but** your friend **insists** on you having some **more** dessert'.

Similarly in stimulus (3):

(3) Are you sure you won't have a gin and tonic?

Here, the co-textual elements will most likely guide the interactant into reinforcing the previous (assumed) refusal.

Co-textual clues contained in the descriptor can also imply that the interactant will refuse the tea offered. This is illustrated in (4):

(4) You're about to leave when she asks...

But the nature of the reply can also be completely left to the speaker to decide, as in (5):

(5) Would you like a cigarette?

With regard to content, the situations depicted by the dialogues reflect everyday occurrences which are expected to be familiar to speakers across Western society. To make the urge for speaking the foreign language more credible, all the situations were presented as occurring during a holiday course abroad attended by the learners.

For the purpose of this research a set of 20 situations in conversational endphases was designed. The term 'endphases' has to be regarded in a broad way. It both encompasses the end of an encounter at a macro-level as well as a micro-level, in which the act is not necessarily followed by physical distancing, but new topics may be initiated and new phases may be entered into, possibly with new interlocutors entering the scene. The speech events were initially constructed in a Danish linguistic framework, for which I relied on my own experience of the Danish language as being more direct than that of English. Moreover, in Danish one encounters ritualistic exchanges in specific situations, leaving no room for lexical choice. For instance, after a party the next time one meets one's host again, one has to use the formulaic expression 'tak for sidst' (literally: 'thank you for the last time'), to which the host has to reply 'selv tak' ('welcome', literally: 'thank **you**'). In order to obtain an interesting outcome, the English situations were drawn up with comparative or deviating Danish speech events in mind.

For the actual wording of the descriptors and stimuli in English, I was inspired by several language courses for English as a foreign language, containing dialogues representing social interaction. After having designed the situations (descriptors and stimuli) they were presented to 30 native speakers of British English. On the basis of their comments on appropriateness and naturalness, some items were rewritten and the Discourse-Completion Task was finalized. It was then translated into German and Danish.

Linguistically, it was not always possible to have a one to one equivalent in the three languages. Whenever necessary, the items were culturally transposed in accordance with the social and pragmatic target system. Some stimuli were therefore slightly adapted, but kept as closely as possible to the original intention. In one of the situations the speaker offers her friend a drink and also offers to pay for it with the

idiomatic expression 'This one's on me'. This utterance poses some translation problems, since there is no direct equivalent expression in German (or Danish). Furthermore, the most appropriate translation has a different level of directness, i.e. it is less direct. When the German speaker asks 'Was möchtest du trinken?' ('What would you like to drink?'), the fact that she will pay for the drink is implied. A similar observation in connection with directness concerns the request 'Would you mind if I borrowed your pen?'. An equivalent, direct translation is grammatically (and theoretically) possible, but pragmatically very awkward 'Würdest du es mir übel nehmen, falls ich deinen Bleistift leihte?'. German opts for the more direct requesting procedure with the present non-progressive tense and an adverb which downgrades its impact: '**Kann** ich **mal** deinen Bleistift leihen?' ('Could (is: 'kann ... mal') I borrow your pen?').

2.2. Situational Characteristics.

There are many ways in which to classify the items (see further chapter 4 Data Analysis for some theoretical observations). I have chosen a functional approach with purely phatic utterances on the one hand and sequences tending to referentiality on the other. These categories embody two different types of politeness associated with two illocutionary functions related to the social goal of establishing and maintaining interaction (cf. Leech 1983, 104). On the one hand there is convivial politeness involving acts such as parting and thanking, where positive politeness may be called for. On the other hand there is competitive politeness involving the act of refusing, where negative politeness is required in order to reduce the tension between what the speaker wants to achieve and what is acceptable behaviour. Utterances having convivial illocutionary force are inherently polite, so the speaker may desire to maximize their positive impact. Competitive illocutions are inherently impolite, which leads to speakers wanting to minimize their negative impact.

On the basis of the major response frame, i.e. the main illocutionary act realized in the reply, the task items can be divided into two categories. They are the phatic routine sequences of THANKING and LEAVETAKING, and the more referential sequences of DECLINING or ACCEPTING. I have opted for the term 'LEAVETAKING' (as opposed to 'parting'), since the situations as they are presented require an active involvement on the part of the respondent.

Seven situations mainly concentrate on thanking for a service rendered or a favour obtained. The situations (=S) belonging to this category are:

THANKING

- S9: The learner is at the station where s/he is given information about a train leaving.
- S12: The learner has booked theatre tickets and is given tickets and change.
- S11: The learner is taking leave of his friend after a party at the friend's house.
- S16: The learner has given a talk at the language school and is congratulated by a friend.
- S1: The learner has shown a friend the way to the zoo and is thanked.
- S7: The learner is leaving the language school and is thanked for holding the door for a friend.
- S17: The learner has organized a party and is thanked by a departing friend.

Within the category of THANKING a distinction can be made between 'genuine' thanking sequences or self-(speaker) initiated thanking sequences (S9, 12, 11, 16) and acknowledging THANKING or other-initiated sequences (S17, 1, 7) of which two stimuli aim at formulaic acknowledging (S1, 7). The latter is often realized in a non-verbal way.

The learners have to engage in six situations focusing on taking leave:

LEAVETAKING

- S3: The learner is leaving the butcher's when the shop assistant wishes him/her a nice day.
- S13: The learner has done some shopping in the supermarket and is given change by the cashier.
- S15: The learner is going to have a day off from the language course. The teacher wishes him/her an enjoyable day.
- S18: The learner is leaving the language school for the weekend and a friend is taking leave.
- S19: The learner is at the doctor's and has made a new appointment.
- S20: The learner is leaving for home again after the holiday course and a friend says farewell.

These situations can be subdivided into explicit and implicit LEAVETAKING sequences, which are all other-initiated, i.e. the respondent has to explicitly acknowledge the LEAVETAKING. LEAVETAKING is indirectly acknowledged in

situations 3, 15 and 18 and directly acknowledged in situations 13, 19 and 20. In four situations (S3, 15, 18, 20) the reply is geared towards reciprocating part or all of the departing sequence.

Finally, seven situations can be very broadly labelled DECLINING/ACCEPTING. They are:

DECLINING/ACCEPTING

DECLINING

S2: The learner is visiting a friend and is about to leave when s/he is offered a cup of tea.

S6: The learner is in a pub and having already declined a gin and tonic is asked to confirm this.

S8: The learner has had an excellent lunch at a friend's house but is urged to take more dessert.

S14: The learner is being offered a cigarette at a party.

ACCEPTING

S4: The learner is in a pub and a friend offers to buy him/her a drink.

S14: The learner is offered a cigarette at a party.

S5: The learner is at the language school and is asked to lend a friend a pen.

S10: The learner has watched a film together with a friend who comments upon it.

Within this category it is especially the four situations entailing a REFUSAL which will be analysed, since they require particular attention to be paid to the face of the interactants. Although these last situations are more referential in nature, they all imply some aspect of THANKING and explicit politeness. Moreover, they correspond to the phatic endphases in that they are also to be situated at an interpersonal level, they all aim at keeping the channel open and have predictable frames, i.e. they are pre-patterned and have formulaic response structures (cf. chapter 4). For all these reasons it is difficult to devise an all-embracing caption. However, to make the distinction between both categories of endphases clear, I will opt for 'phatic' vs. 'non-phatic' endphases (cf. the discussion of the term in the previous chapter 3.1.). Although S5 in itself is a requestive speech act, and S10 might lead to an elaborate (referential) discussion of the film, the same features apply to them.

The phatic situations (THANKING and LEAVETAKING) can be divided into personal and service encounters, a categorisation which accounts for situational variation in terms of the particular role relationships. The role relationships are defined along

the dimension of social distance, i.e. the absence or presence of familiarity between the interactants. In all the situations, the learners are supposed to take on a role which they may have experienced or will experience themselves, i.e. being a student at a language course abroad. Since they are not expected to identify with a different (unnatural) role, the effect on their performance can be expected to be beneficial. The situational background is described by a female native speaker and the stimuli are produced by the same speaker. Thus, the sex of the speaker is constant throughout the task and there is no difference between interactions with 'familiar' and 'non-familiar'.

The interactants' roles appear in two configurations, one in which there is social distance, i.e. the learner functions as a customer in service encounters (sit. 3 at the butchers', S9 at the train station, S12 at the box office, S13 at the supermarket and S19 at the doctor's), and one in which there is no social distance, i.e. the learner functions as a friend in personal encounters. In situation 15, the learner interacts with a teacher, but the interaction is friendly and informal and the linguistic output is formulaic, so that there is hardly any social distance at all. Within the two configurations personal vs. service encounter, the speaker can either take on the role of agent, initiating the THANKING or LEAVETAKING, or the role of beneficiary of the phatic process. The social characteristics of the situations can be summarized in the following Table:

1. THANKING		
1.1. Service Encounters	+social distance	S9 - 12
1.2. Personal Encounters	-social distance	S1 - 7 - 11 -16 - 17
2. LEAVETAKING		
2.1. Service Encounters	+social distance	S3 -13 - 19
2.2. Personal Encounters	-social distance	S15 - 18 - 20
3. Speaker Roles in Phatic Endphases		
3.1. Agent	S9 - 11 - 12 - 19 - 20	
3.2. Beneficiary	S1 - 3 - 7 - 13 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18	
4. DECLINING/ACCEPTING		
4.1. DECLINING in Personal Encounters	S2 - 6 - 8 - 14	
	S14: free choice: accepting and DECLINING possible as a second turn	
4.2. ACCEPTING in Personal Encounters	S4 - 14 - 5 - 10	
	S14: free choice: ACCEPTING and DECLINING are both possible	
	S5: phatic, formulaic, predictable in structure, but more referential, reply to a real speech act of requesting	
	S10: phatic, formulaic, predictable in structure, but more referential, speech act of commenting	

Table 3.1.: Situations Categorized According to Social Distance.

Following previous theoretical research on politeness strategy types (Laver's work, but also Hill et al. 1986) THANKING and LEAVETAKING can vary as far as illocutionary force or communicative intention is concerned. The phatic endphases can be classified on a scale of 'phaticity' going from purely phatic to less phatic, i.e. with more propositional content. However, it has to be kept in mind that the general frame of the replies is predictable for all the situations. The three levels are represented in Table 3.2.:

THANKING	LEAVETAKING
1. minimization or non-verbal THANKING as in situations 1,7	-
2. formulaic THANKING as in service encounters 9, 12	formulaic LEAVETAKING as in service encounters 3, 13
3. -	reciprocation of LEAVETAKING as in situations 15, 18
4. (acknowledging) THANKING as in situations 11, 16, 17	(acknowledging) LEAVETAKING as in situations 19, 20

Table 3.2.: Levels of Phaticity (going from 1: purely phatic to 4: less phatic, more referential).

THANKING and LEAVETAKING have shared characteristics but also idiosyncratic frame elements. Let us consider two examples. Firstly, it is impossible to minimize LEAVETAKING, which is an inherent feature of a ritual THANKING sequence. Secondly, it is rather difficult in English to reciprocate THANKING unlike in Danish (and other Scandinavian languages):

- (6) -Tak for maden. ('Thank you for the meal'.)
 -Selv tak. ('You too' or literally: 'Thank you yourself')

On the first level, THANKING is acknowledged in a ritualized way, often non-verbally. The socio-pragmatic characteristics of these situations are easily accessible, which is clearly reflected in the replies. At the other end of the scale, 'genuine' THANKING or LEAVETAKING figures, the socio-pragmatic characteristics

of which are more negotiable and thus open to individual approaches. Since THANKING and LEAVETAKING in these last instances are not purely ritualistic, the illocutionary force is directly derivable from linguistic indicators.

Thus, apart from being linguistic indications, the levels also reflect different levels of social configuration. Minimization will typically be adopted by both 'familiar' and 'non-familiar'. In service encounters no social reprimand will follow, if the reply is not verbalized. Short formulaic THANKING and LEAVETAKING sequences will typically (co-) occur between 'non-familiar' in service encounters. Finally, 'genuine' and elaborate THANKING and LEAVETAKING belong to the sphere of 'familiar' in personal encounters. It should be pointed out that the characteristics and distribution of the different levels may differ for different languages.

Finally, a note on the kind of language presented in the endphases of the Discourse-Completion Task. It is probably most typical of the English in TEFL, which more likely than not is a reflection of the language used by middle-class, middle-aged, British (male) textbookwriters. This has far-reaching social consequences and will certainly be conflictive with the linguistic input that the learners get via other media.

3. Procedure.

3.1. Test Tapes.

The descriptors and stimuli for each of the 20 situations were put in random order and read by a female native speaker of English and also one of German. The items were recorded with the assistance of an audio-technician on open-reel tape in a professional recording studio at Aarhus Universitet. A Sennheiser microphone and a Revox tape recorder (A70) were used. Between each stimulus and the descriptor of the next situation there was a 10 sec pause, in which the non-native speakers later were required to give their reply. The end of the pause was indicated by a short tone.

The master tape for each language was copied onto as many cassettes as there were expected to be informants for each language.

3.2. Informants.

The languages under investigation were English and German as produced by mother-tongue speakers of Danish. The subjects participating in the study were undergraduate students from the universities of Aarhus and Copenhagen and the Aarhus and Copenhagen Schools of Business. They were first year students with

either English (N=61) or German (N=61) as their major subject. All the participating students had studied the language under consideration for a minimum of 8 years. English and German are obligatory foreign languages in Danish secondary schools and in recent years are taught more and more along communicative lines, with much time devoted to the oral practice of formulae, stereotypes, etc. The students' level of proficiency could be described as upper-intermediate to proficient.

One of the extra requirements for the selection of informants was that they should not have spent more than three weeks in a target-language speaking country, since competence within phatic endphases is generally held to be easily learned during immersion in the target culture.

These selection criteria enabled me to collect a homogeneous sample as far as social and educational background, daily occupation and age are concerned. The subjects' sex has not been considered as a variable, because of the fact that enrolment numbers for language studies always are much higher for females.

The production by the learner sample will be compared with realizations of the same sequences by native speakers of British English and German. The Discourse-Completion Task for English and German is included in Appendix I and II respectively. Moreover, a short representation of the English descriptors and stimuli for all the situations is included at the back as Appendix III and can be folded out for easy reference.

For interlanguage control purposes a small sample of Danish interactions in the same situations was also collected. The entire sample can be schematized in the following way (Table 3.3.):

Native Language	Target Language	Number of Participants
Danish	English	61
Danish	German	61

Native Language	Number of Participants
Danish	30
English	50
German	50

Table 3.3: Participants in the Production Experiment.

I will refer to the main group of participants in the different stages of the project as 'Danish learners of English and German' or in short form as 'learners of English

and German'. In more general terms they can also be referred to as 'non-native speakers'. This is in accordance with common practice within the field (cf. the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project). The term 'native speaker' will be used to refer to the native speaker control group of either English or German.

Finally, it should be mentioned that all informants participated on a voluntary basis.

3.3. Administering the Test.

The subjects were seated in a quiet language laboratory and were each provided with an individual test tape containing the prerecorded descriptors and stimuli for each of the situations. They were instructed how to record their replies on these tapes. In addition they had a sheet offering a general background setting to each situation in the form of visual stimuli. It was considered appropriate to provide the subjects with these visual stimuli in order to approximate face-to-face interaction as closely as possible. Prior to the task, the experimenter outlined in Danish what was expected. Then the subjects were presented with the following taped instructions:

You're on a holiday in London. You're attending a language course at a language school. You've met a lot of new and interesting people. You're confronted with the following situations.

Your task is to react as naturally as possible to each of the situations. If you feel that there's no response required, you don't have to answer.

These instructions were only slightly adapted for the German task, in that the place of the holiday course was changed to Bonn.

The informants were first provided with a practice situation (sit. 0), a possible answer to which was suggested on the tape by the native speaker. This was done in order to get the informants accustomed to the task.

3.4. Transcription of the Material.

The language material produced by the informants was arranged per situation to facilitate comparison between the different participants. It was transcribed in as specific a manner as possible, including gambits, slips of the tongue, self-corrections and pauses. In the transcription, commas and full stops indicate the natural rhythm of the utterance, whereas 'unnatural', extended pauses are represented by a diacritic (^).

- (7) S8: Really I ehm I'm full up. It was ^ very good but ehm I'm full up I'll explode if I have any more.

The length of the pauses is indicated by an increasing number of diacritics. As speech rhythm differs from one person to another, the 'unnaturalness' of the pauses will be different for every individual. Thus, the length of the pauses is not expressed in msec. Intonation as well as stress patterns and other suprasegmentals were not transcribed systematically, however valuable and interesting they might be, but a phonetic analysis of the material is clearly beyond the scope of this work. Sequences which were unclear or revealed a misunderstanding of the task were discarded.

Subsequently, the responses were analysed structurally and conversationally and coded for the different types of modification involved. Modification is described and exemplified in detail in the fourth section.

4. Natural vs. Authentic Data.

A major concern in sociolinguistic research is the manner in which data are to be collected. Ideally, all data should be gathered under natural conditions. The most straightforward way would be for the researcher to observe the informants without their prior knowledge and/or surreptitiously record the material needed. There is general agreement that this method is unethical and moreover can be very damaging for the researcher's future relationship with the informants (cf. Cheepen). In some countries like Germany it is even prohibited by law (Datenschutz, cf. Schneider). Since it is impossible to obtain an adequate collection of natural data, 'our goal then is to observe the way that people use language when they are not being observed' (Labov 1972, 209). Settling for authentic data (as opposed to natural data), recorded by participant observers during natural interactions, does however not put aside the Observer's Paradox. Cheepen, among others, used as her defense that the observer engaging in interaction with familiars cannot but behave naturally for fear of future repercussions on the relationship. As far as the informants are concerned it can only be hoped for that the fact that they are being observed retreats into the background as was recorded by Tannen (1984) at a Thanksgiving dinner when a participant at the end of the meal remarked 'Oh, are you still recording'. When the interactive structure of the conversation is the topic of research, longer stretches of discourse are required to gain insight. When, on the other hand, very

specific linguistic elements are the focus of attention, researchers have opted for alternative devices to elicit data like role-play (cf. Schneider 1988, Edmondson et al. 1979) or communicative tasks (cf. e.g. Kasper's work on communicative strategies). The need for authentic or genuine material can be narrowed down even more, if the aspects of language use to be looked at are so specific that they cannot be collected in one of the above-mentioned ways.

4.1. Practical Methodological Advantages.

For this project I was interested in collecting a quantifiable sample of interlanguage data in socially different conversational endphases. I also wanted to compare the interactional sequences cross-linguistically (interlanguage English and interlanguage German) and cross-culturally (English vs. German). The demands for reliable comparability along the cultural, socio-pragmatic and inter-linguistic axes rule out the use of ethnographic methods, invaluable as they are for gaining insights into speech behaviour. Moreover, the design had to be financially, technically and practically feasible within the boundaries of postgraduate research.

4.2. Theoretical Methodological Advantages.

Beyond the practical methodological advantages, elicited data have theoretical advantages as well. As pointed out by Hill et al., 'the virtue of authenticity in naturally occurring speech must be weighed against its reflection of speakers' sociolinguistic adaptations to very specific situations' (Hill et al. 1986, 353). The use of an audio-elicitation technique enabled me to obtain more stereotyped responses, which can be regarded as 'the prototype of the variants occurring in the individual's actual speech' (Hill et al. 1986, 353). The stereotypical character of the data has been secured by the guidelines accompanying the task and the short answering time of 10 seconds, which both called for spontaneous replies. It has been argued in psychological research that the first and immediate answer, reaction or association which comes to mind is the most natural and reliable. It is precisely these more stereotyped data which will be compared cross-culturally.

Furthermore, my wish to study one particular type of interlanguage phenomena, i.e. modification, calls for the use of experimentally controlled techniques. As pointed out by Kellerman (1980), hypothesis-testing of interlanguage phenomena needs identifiable, appropriate contexts that allow us to focus on specific areas of language use.

The fact that my data were elicited does not therefore invalidate them for my research purposes. They are reliable and valid for the purpose outlined above, i.e. elucidating the functional aspects of modification. As such, the data analysis abstracts from the concrete verbal realizations of the phatic function and throws light on the underlying cognitive functional frames.

4.3. Code of Conduct for Researchers.

Whatever type of data collection is opted for, it has been shown in several studies (e.g. Anjum 1978) that the researcher-informant relationship is fragile and that the ethical aspects of this relationship are complex and important. The code of conduct as outlined in Perdue (1984, 266-67) and adhered to in this research includes the principles that no observations will take place without the informants' prior knowledge and agreement, their anonymity is guaranteed and informants are told of these measures. To this I have added that the data will only be used for the research purposes outlined to the informants and not for assessment of any sort (e.g. comparing the results of student groups or institutions).

5. Data Analysis.

5.1. Analytical Framework.

The unit of analysis in the data is the second turn in the conversational exchange which is provided by the learners as outlined above. The coding scheme is based on frames of primary features expected to be manifested in the realization of phatic endphases. The first turn can be labelled within a speech act framework. The second turn is often not a member of an adjacency pair in the traditional sense of the word, e.g. offering-accepting, but it is more phatic or interactive in nature. Since the interactional rules strictly control language production, it is difficult to label the functions that are performed by the utterances. This is a problem of conversational data in general, as has been indicated by Levinson

(...) it soon becomes clear that the contextual sources that give rise to the assignment of function or purpose are of such complexity and of such interest in their own right, that little will be left to the theory of speech acts (Levinson, 1983, 278).

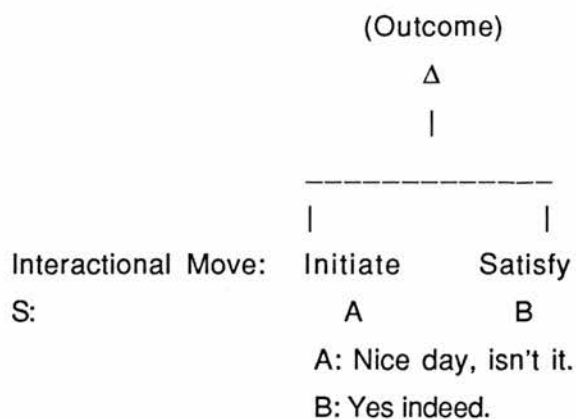
Thus, since the aim of interactiveness has the highest priority in these situations, the kind of speech act realized is of subordinate importance. And, as we will see

later on, more often than not different speech acts are realized consecutively in one turn of the interactive endphases.

In order to characterize the interactional and illocutionary structure of the data, I have adopted (and adapted) a model for conversational interlanguage analysis developed at the Seminar für Sprachlehrforschung at the Ruhr-Universität in Bochum (Germany) in the late seventies and early eighties. It was later theoretically and empirically developed further by, among others, Willis Edmondson and Juliane House (Bochum), Claus Færch and Gabriele Kasper (København-Århus), and Shoshana Blum-Kulka (Tel Aviv). I will explain the model in terms of my own data.

5.2. Exchanges, Moves and Acts.

The endphases under consideration are in social terms phatic encounters. Every encounter constitutes a minimal unit of social interaction. The encounters are made up of two-part exchanges, i.e. a response to a stimulus. The exchange structure or interactional structure of phatic speech is generally quite simple. In its most standardized form, it takes the form Initiate-Satisfy: a speaker A initiates a move, which is reacted to by an interactant B. A and B work together towards a satisfying outcome. This structure can be schematized in the following way:



(From: Edmondson & House 1981, 224).

The two interactional moves Initiate and Satisfy can be linked in different ways (cf. Edmondson & House 1981, 222-227), but the most salient link for our purpose is reciprocity. In Edmondson's terminology (1981) a reciprocal exchange is an exchange, the outcome of which reciprocates the outcome of a preceding exchange. The essential effect for the interactants is 'a reversal of speaker-hearer benefits and costs in the negotiated outcomes of the two exchanges' (Edmondson 1981, 111).

It is especially in phatic (and often ritual) interaction that reciprocity goes together with consolidation. Take, for instance, the exchange from the native speaker data:

- (8) S17: -Thanks very much for the party.
 -That's okay.

The minimization 'That's okay' after THANKING reinforces the outcome of the exchange, thus working towards consolidating the relationship. It has to be noted here that this is an expansion of Laver's model (see previous chapter), in which consolidation was solely achieved by means of enhancement of positive aspects incumbent in the situation. Moreover, both moves together constitute a ritualized reciprocal exchange, because 'thanks' is a socially beneficial good, proffered (or offered) by a speaker in reciprocation for the positive nature of a party. Reciprocity is a necessary feature of phatic talk, or as Edmondson puts it:

Reciprocity is most evident in the structure of phatic talk, where mutual stroking -*ie* 'I'll scratch your back, you scratch mine'- is the order of the day (Edmondson 1981, 111).

The phatic exchanges are instances of 'closed' units, since both participants are in a position to close the matter in hand, to proceed or return to other business, or to terminate the encounter. The exchange's social outcome is that interactional friction has been consciously avoided or if it occurs it has been softened and the damage has been repaired. Moreover, the interactants do not experience loss of face. Thus, the interaction has reached the point of termination with the possibility of further developing the relationship at some point in the future.

Moves consist of acts. A move like in example (9) consists of 3 acts:

- (9) S19: Yes - Friday at 11, isn't it?

Acts are the smallest units of the interactional structure and can be structurally described in Sinclair and Coulthard's terms (1975) as Pre-Head, Head, and Post-Head. The Head is the only obligatory interactional act. For the optional preceding and following elements I will use the more specific, alternative terms Uptake and Appealer as proposed by among others Edmondson (1981, 84), because they more clearly express the interactive character of the acts within the overall interpersonal exchange. Thus, in example (9) 'Friday at 11' is the obligatory head, 'yes' is an uptake directly resulting from the preceding move 'See you next week

then', and 'isn't it' is an appealer requiring a new uptake, confirming or negating the previous head.

5.3. Uptakers, Heads and Appealers.

Illocutionary acts have direct and in-built consequences in that they trigger an uptake. The uptaker is an interactional act which forms part of an interactional move, the Satisfy. It 'validates the preceding move performed by the previous speaker as a contribution to the ongoing discourse' (Edmondson 1981, 84). In other words, it proves that the preceding utterance's illocutionary force and content have been understood by the addressee. More precisely, uptake ratifies the arrangement between the participants by uttering a particular utterance. From a social point of view, an uptaker is often necessary in order to live up to politeness-requirements. An uptake like 'okay' in reply to the question 'Would you mind if I borrowed your pen?' (S5) is generally believed to serve different functions. It ensures hearer-supportive behaviour, i.e. the interactant's face is not threatened. Secondly, it reassures the interactant that the channel for communication is open and that it is possible for a further exchange to take place. Thirdly, it is a sign of the speaker's willingness to interact both verbally and non-verbally. And finally, uptake gives the speaker time in which to organize and formulate any possible further communicative acts. Thus, in a way it also functions as a gambit.

The head is the main exponent of the move or the central interactional act. It is obligatory and embedded in the discourse structure via the optional interactional acts of uptake and appealer. Since the main attention in the analysis will be paid to the head, I will return to its functional and illocutionary aspects in more detail in the next section.

The last act in the move is the appealer which is optional and solicits uptake from the hearer. Appealers are most typically tag-questions. In my data, i.e. endphases they do not occur very often. However, I will argue that appealers can be implied and embedded in hearer-oriented head acts as in, for instance, 'I hope you enjoyed the party' (S11), which will normally elicit uptake from the interactant in the form of a short affirmative utterance, an emphatic murmur or a smile. The distinction between an embedded appealer and a head act proper is clear when contrasting the previous example with the head 'I'm glad you enjoyed the party' (S11).

5.4. Interactional vs. Illocutionary Acts.

Up to this point, I have very broadly attempted to clarify the interactional structure of the data I will be dealing with. When considering the nature of social and conversational interaction, it has to be admitted that there is more to it than structure. The interactional structure may well be the mechanics of social behaviour, but there also has to be material which the behaviour is made of. In conversational encounters, the units of behaviour are locutions which have an illocutionary value relative to the context in which they occur.

Only if the conversational rules are applied appropriately within the Initiate-Satisfy structure, will it be possible to achieve the communicative goals and maintain or restore social harmony. Since communicative competence comprises social competence, the rules which constitute communicative competence heavily rely on the individual's social competence. As Edmondson (1981, 7) points out, the choice of whether or not to return or acknowledge a greeting is entailed in the nature of communication. The speaker might be more inclined to return or acknowledge the LEAVETAKING initiated by a friend in situation 18 than that by the butcher in situation 3. But how the greeting is returned or acknowledged is heavily determined by the social status of the speaker as an individual relative to the interactant. This becomes clear when we compare interactions between 'familiar' and 'non-familiar'. In the interaction with the butcher (S3) we encounter replies like:

- (10) S3: You are leaving the butcher's. The shop assistant says:

Have a nice day.

- Cheers.

or

- You too.

THANKS

RECIPROCATATE

In the LEAVETAKING exchange with a friend (situation 18) longer replies are found with several illocutionary acts being realized within one turn. See, for instance, example (11):

- (11) S18: It is Friday. The course you are attending has finished. You are leaving. A friend shouts:

Have a nice weekend!

-Yeah, cheers, you too.

or

-Yeah, you too.

uptake THANKS RECIPROCATE

uptake RECIPROCATE

Later on we will see that receptively and productively deficient linguistic and socio-pragmatic knowledge on the part of the learner can seriously jeopardize the communicative goals.

The structure and units of conversational behaviour can be related to one another, as has already been done in examples (10) and (11). However, the manner in which to do this is not always straightforward, i.e. there is not always a one-to-one relationship between interactional and illocutionary acts. The main reason why this is so is that interactants are able to manipulate the interactional structure in conversational behaviour whenever this is necessary for achieving a particular conversational goal. This gives rise to very complex interactional structures. To round off this discussion on the structural aspects of conversational behaviour, I will briefly introduce two ways in which the interaction can be manipulated. A detailed presentation with examples will be given in the next section.

Turn-internal manipulation of the structure can be carried out on two levels: i.e. supportive or additive. The communicative act which has a strategic function with respect to the head act of the move it supports is called a supportive move (cf. e.g. Edmondson 1981, Blum-Kulka, et al. 1989). A supportive move can be defined as 'the anticipation of types of potential hearer-responses' (Edmondson 1981, 122).

(12) S2: No, really, I must go or I'll miss the bus.

DECLINE

supportive move

By anticipating that the interactant will insist on the speaker staying, a reason external to the speaker is added in support of the head act. External manipulation of the head act fills an interactive slot of its own and as such it is contrasted with internal manipulation, the last of which does not disrupt the one-to-one relationship between interactional and illocutionary acts.

The demands of the interaction can be such that one illocutionary act, whether internally or externally manipulated or not, cannot fulfil them. The speaker therefore strings together different illocutionary acts by activating an additive strategy, which leads to an interactive structure with a multiple-head act. A structurally straightforward example can be found in (13):

(13) S3: Thanks. Bye!

THANKS LEAVETAKING

In this example, two heads are judged necessary by the speaker to fulfil the situation's interactional needs.

6. Coding Features.

6.1. Phatic Interactive Structure.

The primary aim of all the exchanges under investigation is the consolidation of the relationship in tune with the interactive and face needs of the situation. Consolidation can take the form of cooperative parting (a *sine qua non* in LEAVETAKING), the expression of gratitude or sincere acceptance/refusal.

The unit of analysis for the three interactive acts of THANKING, LEAVETAKING and DECLINING is the Discourse-Completion Task's discourse filler, i.e. the utterance(s) supplied by the informants. In the rest of this chapter, I will define and exemplify the primary features of the sequences under consideration as they occur in the data. The (lower-order) frames of the phatic replies are drawn up on the basis of the native speaker data, from which all examples are taken unless otherwise indicated.

Within the move completing the dialogue of the Discourse-Completion Task, several interactional elements can be identified. Take, for instance, the following exchange:

- (14) S16: -Nice talk that was.
 -Oh, thank you very much.

In the second move of (14), the THANKING sequence or head utterance includes:

1. an emotive indicator or gambit indicating surprise: 'oh',
2. the THANKING proper or head act: 'thank you',
3. an optional upgrader, i.e. a lexical intensifier: 'very much'.

Alternatively, a move like:

- (15) S11: Thanks for the party, it was great. See you.

consists of:

1. the head utterance: 'thanks for the party, it was great' with the head act of THANKING: 'thanks for the party',
2. an optional post-posed supportive move expanding the head: 'it was great', itself containing the optional lexical up-toner 'great',

3. an additional head displaying new illocutionary force, i.e. leave-taking: 'see you'.

New heads often ensure or even reinforce the idea that a future meeting belongs to the possibilities of the relationship. Since in phatic endphases several aims have to be fulfilled at the same time, their interactional structure will more often than not be complex.

The structure of the phatic sequence for analysis is the second part of the phatic encounter, i.e. the satisfy, which in summary looks as follows:

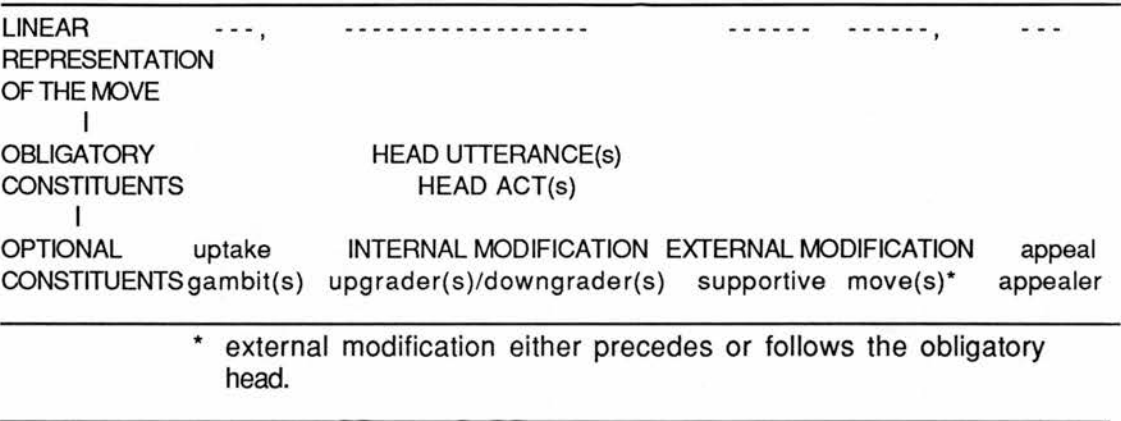


Figure 3.1.: Structural Representation of Phatic Moves and their Constituents.

6.2. Head Acts.

6.2.1. Definition.

The head act is that part of the sequence which might serve to realize the social gesture independently of other elements. It is a unit independent of other elements, but essential to fill the interactive slot of the head utterance, which is its direct linguistic environment. The head constitutes the core of the sequence. It is the minimal linguistic unit which can realize the act, as illustrated in the second move of (16):

- (16) S11: You are leaving a wonderful party at a friend's house. She says:
It was lovely seeing you. Call again soon.
-Yes. I will.

'Yes' is an optional uptake and cannot occur as an independent unit, unlike 'I will', which expresses the speaker's commitment in the form of a promise.

There is no one-to-one relation between this functional definition and the formal, syntactic characteristics of the utterance, i.e. it would be impossible, for instance, to equate the head with the utterance's main verb.

6.2.2. Cotextual vs. Contextual Heads.

In the task's more complex interpersonal encounters, two types of head can be distinguished: heads directly deriving from the cotext and heads of which the illocution is related to the context of the situation. In situation 11 (see previous example (16) for the descriptor and stimulus), the following heads can be distinguished: a contextual head, i.e. thanking for the party or complimenting on the party, is directly linked to the context of the situation. Co-textual heads in the same situations are either acknowledging or reciprocating the compliment, e.g. 'It was lovely seeing you', or acknowledging or thanking for the new invitation, e.g. 'Call again soon'.

More often than not the phatic head will be reinforced by other conventional elements lying outside the head act, e.g. complimenting, congratulating, undertaking steps for a future engagement, wishes for future health, etc. Thus, the THANKING or LEAVETAKING proper leaves room for elaboration, by adding other linguistic elements. These often take the form of a new head, directly or indirectly reinforcing the first head.

If more than one minimal independent unit fills one interactional slot and realizes the overall phatic goal, the utterance is multiple headed. In example (17) the two heads occur at the same level of explicitness. They have the same status, both minimizing the outcome of the preceding move:

- (17) S1: -Thanks a lot (for showing the way).
 -That's all right. No problem.

In the following example the heads have a different status: the first head belongs to the category of THANKING, the second to the category of LEAVETAKING:

- (18) S11: Thanks for the party. It was great. See you.

A move with multiple heads is often phatically more convincing than one with one head. Compare the exchange:

- (19) S1: -Thanks a lot (for showing the way).
 -That's OK.

in which the speaker minimizes the thanks offered, with

- (20) S1: -Thanks a lot (for showing the way).
 -That's OK. Hope you enjoy yourself. Bye.

where the speaker adds a hearer-oriented wish and a LEAVETAKING to the minimization. The second and consecutive heads enhance the illocutionary force of the primary head act, i.e. THANKING or LEAVETAKING; thus they contribute towards the achievement of the main phatic aim.

6.3. Modification.

The head's illocutionary force can be modified externally or internally in two directions, in that it can be either softened or enhanced. On a formal level, external modification occurs by means of supportive moves post-posed or pre-posed to the head. Internal modification occurs by means of internal elements embedded in the head utterance. Modification contributes considerably to the ultimate phatic interactive force of the head utterance and is often the only guarantee that the social demand of retaining psychological and social contact is met. The two types of modification will be dealt with in detail in the next two sections.

7. External Modification by Means of Supportive Moves.

7.1. Definition.

Within the phatic endphases of personal encounters, heads rarely occur on their own, especially in the more referential DECLINE sequences. They are often preceded or followed by supportive moves, the major function of which is 'to support a central speech act by anticipating a conversational partner's reaction' (House 1982b cited in Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, 9). In the case of, for instance, refusing extra dessert the act undertaken is face-threatening, i.e. the interactant might feel hurt or at least a tension between the interactants' goals might be felt. By adding a reason for the refusal, e.g. '(...) really, I'm full', the head's impact is softened and redressive action has been undertaken. This can in turn be reinforced by adding an extra compliment, e.g. '(...), but it's a delicious pie'.

Supportive moves are typically used to explain an action, justify or reinforce it and make amendments in the form of promises and praise. As such modification directly contributes to the content of the head it belongs to and thus indirectly contributes to the higher phatic aim. Structurally, supportive moves are external to the utterance(s) in which the act is realized, hence the term 'external modification'. They either take the form of a sub-clause or a coordinate sentence.

7.2. Supportive Moves vs. Multiple Head Acts.

As indicated by Edmondson (1981, 130), it is sometimes impossible to distinguish which of two communicative acts in a single turn is the head and which one is the supportive, since often no supportive function is discoverable. This is especially the case in purely phatic endphases. Consider the following example:

- (21) S1: You have shown a friend the way to the local zoo. She says:
 Thanks a lot.
-That's all right. No problem.

Neither the content nor the place of the acts relative to one another gives an indication as to which one is subordinate. They are therefore said to realize the head of the interactional move together by means of an additive strategy leading to a multiple-head act. My analysis of the data can thus be said to be conservative. Whenever there was any doubt about the distinction between heads and supportives, the category was labelled as a new head.

- (22) S16: You have given a talk at the language school. A friend congratulates you on it:
 Nice talk that was.
 -Thanks, but I was really nervous.

The second move is then analysed as a THANKING followed by a new head called TELL (following Edmondson 1981). A TELL refers to the speaker giving the hearer insight into him or herself by means of which the social bond between them is enhanced.

7.3. Status-Raising.

Some supportive moves can indirectly serve as a head, e.g. THANKS. They undergo status-raising as in example (23):

(23) S11: You're leaving from a wonderful party at a friend's house. She says:

It was lovely seeing you. Call again soon.

-You must come round to our place soon.

In (23), the offering of an invitation can be regarded as an instance of gratitude, which is followed up in line with social demands. Similarly, in the reply to the same situation:

(24) S11: Yes, and it was a very nice party too.

the compliment on the party's nature is an indirect way of saying 'thank you' and corresponds to the reply: 'Yes I will, thanks for a wonderful party'.

The traditional supportive move of disarmer, with which the speaker tries to anticipate any potential criticism on the part of the hearer, seems to have completely undergone status-raising in my data and has become a head in phatic endphases. In (25):

(25) S16: You have given a talk at the language school. A friend congratulates you on it:

Nice talk that was.

-Well I suppose it wasn't too bad.

the reply would traditionally be regarded as a disarming supportive move, which now has gained head-status, since it autonomously fills the head slot in the interactive structure. Another realisation of the disarmer is:

(26) S16: Oh no it wasn't.

It lives up to the rule: Criticize yourself before someone else can. Similarly in the hearer-oriented question:

(27) S16: Do you think so? Thanks.

the disbelief on the part of the speaker vis-à-vis his or her own performance and achievement functions as a disarmer, which is underlined by the fact that it takes the form of a rhetorical question.

7.4. Types of Supportives.

On the basis of the data, the following supportive categories can be distinguished: grounders, expanders and imposition minimisers. The last category mainly features in situations where the interactant (more or less reluctantly) accepts an offer.

7.4.1. Grounders.

A grounder is defined as 'unterstützender Zug, mit dem S seinen Sprechakt begründet' (Kasper 1981, 109). It is the most salient and frequent supportive is the grounder, providing reasons or justifications for a communicative act, as demonstrated in studies by Kasper (1981) and House and Kasper (1987). As such it creates a positive attitude on the part of the interlocutor. It is thus an efficient mitigating strategy with a wide range of applications. Often the interlocutor states the reason for terminating the encounter in a circumstance external to him or herself.

- (28) S2: You are visiting a friend. You're about to leave when she asks:
How about a cup of tea before you go?
-No I really must go or I'll miss the bus.

7.4.2. Expanders.

With the expander the speaker elaborates the head, gives additional information, before even being requested to do so. The expander explicitly reinforces the interactants' social relationship. It is addressed to the positive aspect of face. Example:

- (29) S17: You have organized a party. A friend is leaving. She says:
Thanks very much for the party.
-I'm glad you enjoyed it. I did too.

The supportive move 'I did too' reinforces the illocutionary force of the (indirect) THANKING. It is remotely related to TELL, a head which also enhances the social bond between the interactants.

7.4.3. Imposition Minimisers.

With an imposition minimiser the speaker tries to reduce the fact that the hearer is imposed upon:

- (30) S2: You are visiting a friend. You're about to leave when she asks:
How about a cup of tea before you go?
-Oh if you're having one.

Accepting the offer of a cup of tea is positively manipulated and made conditional on the hearer having one too.

Imposition minimisers can also be used in order to build in a condition which has to be fulfilled before the actual promise can be carried out. The imposition minimiser becomes self-oriented.

- (31) S11: Yes, I will if I've got time.

The conditional sub-clause has a very strong downgrading effect on the utterance as a whole.

The different types of supportives can occur in combination with one another and in some face-threatening situations this is even normative.

- (32) S8: You are invited to a friend's house for lunch. You have had an excellent lunch, but your friend insists on you having some more desert:
You must have some more apple pie.
-Oh I really can't but thank you it was delicious.
 grounder THANKS expander

In order to differentiate between the different interactive categories, the following orthographic convention will be adopted. Supportive moves will be presented in small letters and head acts will appear in capitals.

8. Internal Modification by Means of Modality Markers.

The head act occupies the central position in the sequence. Its illocutionary force can be modified externally and/or internally by means of supportive moves and internal modifiers respectively. Unlike the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project I will differentiate between primary internal modification and secondary internal modification. Primary internal modification is directly linked to the main head act, as for instance in:

- (33) S9: Thanks very much.

Secondary internal modification occurs in the second and/or successive heads:

(34) S11: Thanks very much. I certainly will.

THANKS

WILL

or in the external supportive move(s):

(35) S8: Sorry I can't. I'm completely stuffed.

DECLINE

grounder

As can be seen in examples (34) and (35), secondary internal modification modifies the illocutionary force of the entire utterance, thus contributing to the phatic goal, which is why I include it.

Primary internal modification often occurs with THANKING and DECLINING/ACCEPTING sequences, but only to a minor extent with heads of LEAVETAKING, in which the supportives or secondary heads tend to be modified, in accordance with the amount of face-work required.

Internal modifiers are elements within the head utterance(s), the presence of which is not essential for the utterance to be potentially understood as an act of THANKING, LEAVETAKING or DECLINING. Thus, the omission of any of the following underlined elements will leave the pragmatic force of the utterances as THANKS intact.

(36) S11: -Thanks very much for having me.

S11: -I will, thanks for a super party.

(as opposed to: I will, thanks for the party.)

The modifiers function on two levels:

1. They may act as indicating devices, used to signal pragmatic force and
2. as socio-pragmatic devices meant to affect the social impact the utterance is likely to have (cf. Blum-Kulka 1987).

The social impact of the utterance can either be mitigated or reinforced. When the social impact is softened the modifiers act as downgraders as in the next example:

(37) S11: (...) I'll come round some time.

When it is enhanced the modifiers act as upgraders

(38) S11: I really enjoyed the party.

Upgrading and downgrading can both be realized syntactically or lexically.

8.1. Syntactic Modification.

Within the category of syntactic modifiers a distinction is made between upgraders and downgraders. Syntactic modifiers modify the head act internally by mitigating its phatic force through specific syntactic choices. Thus, syntactic modifiers are linked to the grammatical system of the language.

As has been clearly shown in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project, the syntactic devices and their mitigating function are part of the structural properties of a given language and the ways these are put to use, and hence language-specific. The traditional example for English is the distinction between different types of modal verbs, e.g. can/could, will/would. Typologically, different languages are likely to rely on different sets of syntactic modifiers. Syntactic downgraders are elements chosen from particular grammatical sub-categories, most often aspectual in nature. They soften the impact of the head. Compare the contracted future tense auxiliary in:

(39) S2: Yes. OK. That'll be nice.

with the full form of the modal:

(40) S2: Oh, yes. That would be nice.

The illocutionary force can also be upgraded by means of syntactic intensifiers. They result from conscious syntactic and lexical choices between, for instance, different types of modal verbs.

(41) S20: -Right, I will. Bye.

vs. -Yes, we must.

or compare:

(42) S11: You must come to dinner soon.

S11: You'll need to visit me some time.

Syntactic upgrading can sometimes take the form of emphatic addition of a particular verb as in this reply by a non-native speaker:

(43) S8: Yes. I'd love to have some more. I really do.

Due to the nature of phatic data, syntactic downgrading is rare and more often than not can be classified as a form of lexical choice. This is opposed to the findings of the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project, since the realization of requests and apologies heavily relies on this type of modification. In my analysis therefore, syntactic modifiers are classified under lexical uptoners (e.g. 42), downtoners (e.g. 40 as opposed to 39) or emphatic additions (e.g. 43).

8.2. Lexical/Phrasal Modification.

Lexical and phrasal modifiers are a second category of optional additions to enhance, i.e. upgrade, or soften, i.e. downgrade, the phatic force of the head act by modifying it through specific lexical and phrasal choices.

8.2.1. Lexical/Phrasal Upgrading.

Upgraders are types of modifiers aimed at increasing the phatic impact. Not all situations are upgraded in the same way, using the same categories of upgraders. In the case of THANKING, for instance, the social impact of the utterance will most likely be upgraded either by intensifying the thanking activity or by indicating commitment and sincerity towards the interactant. The different types of lexical and phrasal upgraders can be classified in three groups: lexical intensifiers, determination markers or commitment indicators and appealers. They in turn consist of different sub-classes.

8.2.1.1. Lexical Intensification.

In phatic encounters the most salient upgrader is lexical intensification.. It can be classified in 5 subcategories. A first set consists of lexical or phrasal **intensifiers** which are used by the speaker to intensify certain elements of the proposition of the utterance.

(44) S9: Thank you very much

S9: Thanks a lot.

(45) S11: I really enjoyed it.

Another subcategory consists of **politeness markers**, which upgrade the force of the head act and underline the positive nature of the interaction. A clear example explicitly making the utterance more polite is:

(46) S2: Yeah, please.

A **lexical up-toner** is an instance of a marked lexical choice whereby one element of the utterance is given an extra positive connotation. Compare both utterances:

(47) S11: (...) Thanks for a super party.

S11: Thanks for the party.

An **understater** is 'a modifier which is used to underrepresent the state of affairs denoted in the proposition' (Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project's coding manual). As such it intensifies the minimization.

(48) S1: Quite alright (...)

Finally, **emphatic additions** are lexical collocations used to provide additional emphasis to the act:

(49) S20: Yes cheerio. I'll try and write soon.

S15: (...) do take care. (produced by a learner)

8.2.1.2. Determination Marking.

A second category within intensification consists of determination markers or commitment indicators. They are sentence modifiers by which the speaker indicates a heightened degree of determination or commitment to the cause on his or her part as in:

(50) S11: I'm sure I will.

S11: I certainly will.

8.2.1.3. Appealing.

The category of appealing is situated on an interpersonal level and consists of three subcategories. The two first subcategories are hearer-oriented, the last is speaker-oriented.

Appealers are structurally situated at the margin of the utterance. In the data they only occur at the end of an utterance, so they leave room for further negotiation between the participants in the interaction. The hearer is directly drawn into the perspective and is asked to actively participate in the ongoing discourse by reacting to the signal. Therefore I will classify them as a kind of utterance internal modification, i.e. upgrading the head utterance's illocutionary and phatic force. This is unlike Edmondson (1981), who sees appealers as filling interactive slots. In the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project they commonly take the form of question-tags, which is only rarely the case in my data:

(51) S19: Yes. Friday at 11, isn't it?

However, in the data, appealers can also be implied in the head, as in:

(52) S17: You're welcome. I hope you had a nice time.

to which reassurance from the part of the interactant is requested. This as opposed to:

(53) S17: That's okay. I'm glad you enjoyed it.

in which the speaker expresses his or her personal feeling (a TELL).

Another instance of an appealers is:

(54) S16: You think?

The question elicits a hearer signal and clearly indicates turn-availability.

Names, titles or second person personal pronouns added to the utterance function as **alerters** and more directly address the interactant. Alerters sometimes tend to make the utterance more polite.

(55) S9: Thank you very much, sir.

A similar interpersonal function is undertaken by a class of gambits called **emotives**. They indicate the speaker's emotions vis-à-vis the state expressed in the stimulus, often expressing surprise:

(56) S16: Oh, thank you very much.

Combinations of the three categories (with their respective subcategories) of upgrading are quite common, as are literal or paraphrastic repetition of single elements.

(57) S11: Oh thank you. Yes I will. I had a lovely evening.

emotive

lexical upgrader

S8: Oh, no thanks, really, I'm full up, honestly.

adverbial intensifier adverbial intensifier

I also count in this group all literal or paraphrastic repetitions of head acts, since they are weighted in a different way to ordinary single heads and have to be accounted for in some way or other.

(58) S1: No problem, no problem.

S1: That's all right, no problem.

8.2.2. Lexical/Phrasal Downgrading.

Downgrading mainly occurs with the data in which declining an offer is the issue. Downgraders are optional additions to soften the illocutionary force of the act by modifying the head act internally through specific lexical and phrasal choices. Three main categories can be distinguished: downtoners, apologisers and politeness markers.

8.2.2.1. Downtoning.

Downtoners are phrasal or lexical modifying elements. The speaker moderates the impact the head is likely to have on the hearer. Sentential or adnominal lexical downtoners take the form:

(59) S11: Yeah, I'll probably see you on Tuesday anyway (...).

S8: Just a little bit then.

Note that downtoners function in such a way that the illocutionary force of the utterance is less direct and less coercive with regard to the hearer.

8.2.2.2. Apologising.

Apologisers are added to soften the force of a negative reply:

(60) S8: Sorry I can't. I'm completely stuffed.

8.2.2.3. Politeness Marking.

Politeness markers soften the negative impact on the hearer's face:

(61) S2: No, thanks.

As with upgraders the lexical and phrasal downgraders described above can be combined in any one utterance.

8.2.3. Time Indication.

To round off the categorization of internal modification, a separate status has been allocated to lexical intensifiers of phrases containing reference to time. Time indication is a dual category and can either have an upgrading or downgrading effect on the illocutionary force and the social outcome of the act. **Time intensification** takes the form of a definite time indication and is an important upgrader for LEAVETAKING.

(62) S11: I'll ring next week.

Indefinite time indication in a LEAVETAKING sequence functions as a **downtoner**, indicating that one does not want to commit oneself entirely or does not want to be too overbearing. There is room left for negotiation when the next encounter will take place, but at the same time the possibility for a future encounter is not ruled out.

(63) S1: (...) See you later.

S11: You must come round to my house some time.

8.3. A Phatic Model of Modification.

In the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project the main emphasis with requests is on downgrading the illocutionary force of the utterance, whereas with apologies the reverse is the case. Both speech acts are quite different from the phatic endphases in this study. A number of categories covers both cases. Some of them situated within the internal modifying dimension have changed over from

having a downgrading to an upgrading function. I will briefly go through the categories common to both studies. For a first overview see Table 3.4.

	Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project	Phatic Endphase
Intensifiers	Upgrading	Upgrading
Lexical Uptoners	Upgrading	Upgrading
Emphatic Additions	Upgrading	Upgrading
Determination Markers	Upgrading	Upgrading
Commitment Indicators	Upgrading	Upgrading
Emotives Upgrading	Upgrading	
Repetitions of One Element	Upgrading	Upgrading
Repetitions of Head Acts	Upgrading	Upgrading
Time Intensification	Upgrading	Upgrading
Downtoners	Downgrading	Downgrading
Politeness Markers	Downgrading Upgrading	Downgrading
Understaters	Downgrading	Upgrading
Appealers	Downgrading	Upgrading
Alerters	lie outside the head utterance	Upgrading
Apologisers	-	Downgrading
Time Downtoners	-	Downgrading

Table 3.4.: Categories of Internal Modification in Requests (Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project) and Interactional Endphases.

As can be seen from the Table most categories in the two studies correspond and lie within the dimension of upgrading. There is only one downgrading element which corresponds, i.e. downtoners. Politeness markers in the phatic data can both function as up- and downgraders. Both understaters and appealers underwent category-shift from downgrading to upgrading and finally alerters, apologisers and time downtoners do not feature in the Speech Act Model.

8.4. Coding Procedure.

Both the native and non-native data were coded in detail along the same lines. The discourse fillers were brought together for each situation. Within every move first the head was determined. If more than one head was found, the move was indicated as multiple headed. Then, the heads were labelled. A move consisting of a single head is no guarantee of a simple structure: it can include both uptakers and supportive moves.

Secondly, the perspective of the entire utterance was analysed. This is in contrast with the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project, in which only the perspective of the head act was taken into account. As argued before, in phatic endphases an added head act or supportive move often contribute considerably to the phatic goal. Thus, the choice of perspective can change during the utterance and presents an important source of variation. The role of the agent can be emphasized and the utterance will be speaker-oriented and subjectivized like this:

- (64) S11: I'm sure I will.
S11: Yes I will. I had a lovely evening.

or the focus can be on the role of the recipient or beneficiary and be hearer-oriented. The hearer often becomes the object of positive feelings as in:

- (65) S11: Nice seeing you. See you soon.
S11: Thank you for having me - you must come to dinner soon.

Other occurrences are the inclusive, which has been coded as being both self- and other-oriented,

- (66) S20: Yes we must.

and the impersonal

- (67) S11: Thanks for the party, it was great.

As with requests, choice of perspective affects social meaning; naming the hearer as beneficiary can increase the level of directness as can naming the speaker as source of the positive emotions. The four alternatives often occur in one situation. Next, external modification was established and the supportive moves were provided with one of the three labels. If more than one supportive move was found within one and the same or different categories, it was indicated as well. The analysis up to this point looked like this:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| (68) S11: <u>Oh thank you.</u> | <u>Yes I will.</u> | <u>I had a lovely evening.</u> |
| multiple headed move | | |
| I I | I I | I |
| gambit THANKS | uptake WILL | expand/TELL |
| other-oriented | self-oriented | self-oriented |

In the fourth step, primary and secondary modification were established. Within the head utterance(s), the primary modifiers were identified within the categories of upgraders and downgraders. Also secondary modifiers were labelled in detail. Here is an example for which the categories are labelled on a general interactive, illocutionary and functional basis:

(69) S2:	No <u>thanks</u> .	I <u>really</u> must get my essay done <u>tonight</u> .
INTERACTIVE	single headed move internally and externally modified	
	head	supportive move
ILLOCUTION	REFUSAL	grounder
FUNCTION	primary	secondary modification
IDENTIFICATION	downgrader	upgrader
	politeness marker	lexical intensifier definite time indicator

The coded categories were stored in a computer database (VAX). Because of file restrictions, there were only 20 spaces available for identification. Consequently, some categories had to be combined. I choose to do this on the basis of relatedness of the categories and frequency of occurrence. Within the dimension of upgrading, this was the case for lexical intensifiers and politeness markers, emphatic additions and syntactic upgraders, appealers and alerters. Literary or paraphrastic repetition or combinations of internal modifiers within one category were also coded together. Since downgrading only occurred in a few instances, lexical, syntactic downtoners, apologisers and politeness markers were coded together. A short extract of the database for the learners is given for the reader's general orientation in Table 3.5. It contains a selection of different modifying categories for both languages.

9. Summary: A Frame of Analysis for Modification.

In this chapter two main topics can be distinguished. First, the instrument and procedure for data-collection were presented. The items of the Discourse-Completion Task were defined in terms of higher-order frame constituents pertaining to the situation, the participants and the purpose of the interaction.

The second part was devoted to the presentation of an interactional and illocutionary analytical framework. The head is the main unit of a move or the central interactional act. It can be manipulated on different levels. First, different illocutionary acts can be strung together, leading to an interactive structure with a multiple-headed act. Secondly, an act can be included into the head utterance. A communicative act which has a strategic function with respect to the head act of the move it supports is called a supportive move. A third way of modifying the head's illocutionary force is by embedding mitigating or reinforcing elements which are either syntactic or lexical/phrasal in nature within the head utterance itself.

CHAPTER 4

Modificational Characteristics of the Data

1. Introduction.

The interactional and illocutionary model of analysis presented in chapter 3 serves as a basis for the characterization of modification in the data that were collected by the methods outlined above.

1.1. Hypotheses and Research Questions.

Research into the realization of different communicative functions has shown that non-native speakers, and learners for that matter, do not always behave appropriately at a socio-pragmatic level when they engage in conversations with native speakers. In phatic encounters, for instance, the norm of social competence concerning the giving of biographical information as to oneself takes the form: 'When a free verbal good is requested, give more than is asked for!' (Edmondson 1981, 125). However, several authors have suggested that even advanced learners of a foreign language may fail to follow this social norm, unintentionally seeming 'abrupt' or 'impolite' (cf. Edmondson et al. 1979, House and Kasper 1981). An altogether different conclusion emerging from research into request realizations and referential compensatory strategies by, among others, Bongaerts, Kellerman, and Bentlage (1987), Færch and Kasper (1989) and Tarone and Yule (1989) is that learners produce overcomplex and overelaborate utterances, as compared to native speakers of English (and to a lesser extent of German).

My main research interest is then to analyse how stereotype moves are manipulated. This translates into the following general research question:

Which linguistic devices do non-native speakers use to modify the illocutionary force of phatic endphases?

In line with the above observations, this modification can be summarized as either a lack or an abundance of complexity and detail. The fundamental hypothesis that is taken as a starting point can be formulated as follows:

When non-native speakers engage in conversational endphases with native speakers, their linguistic production is characterized by the deviant use of modifying elements.

In other words, the expectations are that the learners will behave in a way that is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the native speakers with respect to modification: they not only use **more** and **more complex** modifying elements, but elements which are also **different** in character and use. Modification refers to the linguistic means by which the illocutionary force of an utterance can be reinforced or mitigated. It is part of the speaker's declarative knowledge (cf. Færch and Kasper 1984, 1985). It is this underlying but conscious knowledge relevant to the form and function of different linguistic means which enables Danish learners of English to formulate linguistic 'rules' with regard to, for instance, linguistic politeness. One such rule would be that Danes have to be extremely careful about being adequately polite when speaking English and in particular they have to liberally use the politeness formula 'please', for which there is no equivalent in Danish. This is an issue puzzling both teachers of English in Denmark and Danes living abroad (Marianne Warrer, Bjarne Thorup Thomsen and Kristine Bjerre, personal communication).

But differences or deviations between interlanguage and target language can also be found on other (sub)levels than the linguistic and cultural. This study was designed to allow for reliable comparability along cultural, functional, social, and interlinguistic axes. The modifying component of the data is analysed along these four axes, which also represent the steps in the analysis. Thus, there are four aims to be achieved.

The first aim is to investigate the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of given interactional moves across different languages, i.e. English and German, relative to the same functional variables, i.e. phatic vs. non-phatic. This is an investigation of **cross-cultural** variation and provides a model for comparison in the next step of the analysis. It has to be pointed out here that the term 'non-phatic' has only been chosen to clearly differentiate between the two sets of data, even though the situations in which an offer is declined or accepted have a considerable number of phatic characteristics.

Secondly, the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of interactional moves by native and non-native speakers of the languages are investigated relative to the same functional variables. This is an investigation of

interlanguage (native speakers vs. learners) and **intra-linguistic** (learners vs. native speakers of English and learners vs. native speakers of German) variation. I will refer to both as cross-linguistic variation.

Apart from these two linguistic levels, a further aim is to investigate the effect of the **functional** variables 'phatic' and 'non-phatic' on the realization patterns of the interactional moves across different languages. This is an investigation of functional variation.

Finally, the effect of the social variables 'personal' and 'service encounters' on the realization patterns of given interactional phatic moves across different languages will be investigated. This is an investigation of **socio-pragmatic** variation.

The axes and their constituent variables can be schematically summarized as follows:

AXES	Content (variables)
Cross-cultural	English vs. German
Cross-linguistic	native vs. interlanguage English and German
Functional	phatic vs. non-phatic moves
Socio-Pragmatic	personal vs. service encounters

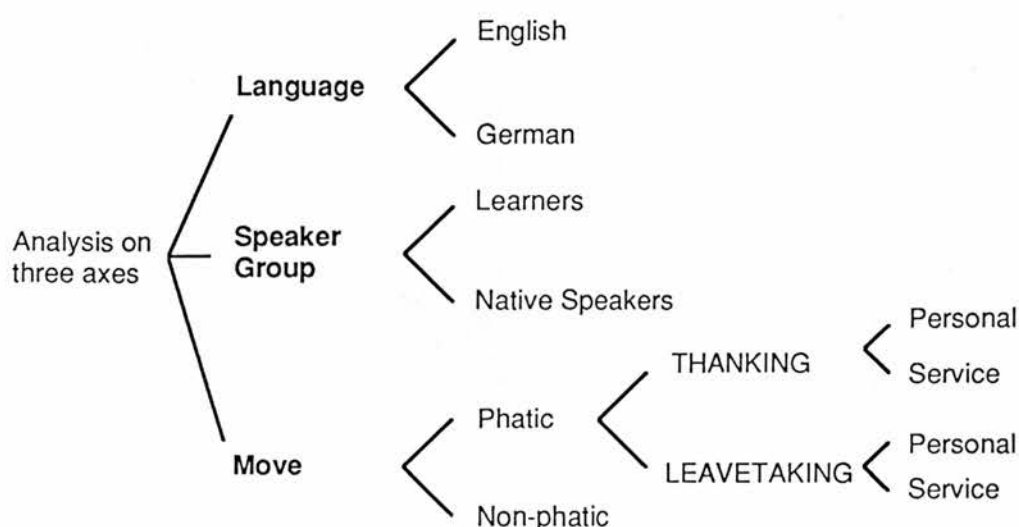
The investigation aims to reveal the systematicity in the use of linguistic items to convey illocutions, or more specifically, the ways in which a particular pragmatic function, i.e. the phatic function, is achieved by language-specific linguistic means, or by language-specific choices from structures which are available in different language systems.

1.2. Lay-out of this Chapter.

My main aim in this chapter is to shed light on some aspects of how phatic and non-phatic moves, i.e. the smallest significant elements by which the conversation is developed, are manipulated by both native and non-native speakers. A first and straightforward indication of this manipulation can be found in the mean length of the utterances. Secondly, I will be looking at the interactive complexity of the moves in the form of the relationship between multiple and single-headed utterances. The main focus of this chapter is, however, on the extent of internal and external modification and the nature of the two types of modification in the interlanguage realizations of purely phatic replies (situations 1, 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17 (THANKING) and situations 3, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20 (LEAVETAKING)). These

replies will be contrasted with the more referential sequences and the native speaker realizations.

From a structural point of view, the analysis of these aspects will be approached in a similar fashion. In the first instance, a general analysis is carried out in terms of the parameters Language (English - German), Speaker Group (learners - native speakers) and type of Move (phatic - non-phatic). In the second step, the phatic situations are further analysed in terms of their illocutionary force (THANKING - LEAVETAKING) and their socio-pragmatic constellation (personal - service encounter). The different steps can be schematically represented as:



2. Utterance Length.

The use of mean utterance length analysed in terms of morphemes and viewed as an indication of the grammatical complexity of natural language corpora dates back to Greenberg (1960). Greenberg can be regarded as a major innovator in the field of quantitative analysis of the morphological structure of languages for the purpose of drawing up linguistic typologies. In his analysis technique, several indices are calculated which are indicative of morphological complexity. These can be used for linguistic comparison. Because there still remain many unanswered questions as to the reliability of the method as an estimate of syntactic complexity, I will examine utterance length in terms of the number of words and only take it as an index of intra-language (English vs. German) and interlanguage (interlanguage English vs. interlanguage German) differences. These values will make it possible to gain an understanding of how the interlanguage groups deviate from the linguistic 'norm'

and they can at the same time be regarded as an indication of the developmental changes in linguistic proficiency.

Before taking a closer look at the differences in mean utterance length for the speaker groups, it might be interesting to look at the situations in which no reply was given. The native speaker groups do not provide a verbal answer in 5% and 1% of moves respectively. The low number for German (1%) can be ascribed to the fact that German has formulae for reciprocating THANKS, where English would more readily opt for a non-verbal reply.

The learners of English do not reply in 10% of moves: half of these cases concern the THANKING sequences with the formulaic encounters (S1, 7).

- (1) S1: You have shown a friend the way to the local zoo.
 She says: Thanks a lot.
 -Ø (no reply)

This suggests that the learners feel that there is no answer required. Only 4% of German learner stimuli are left unanswered. Quite a number of them occur in situation 10. It is quite clear from the hesitations and the type of answers given that some learners had problems understanding and even misunderstood the adjective 'toll' in 'Toller Film, was?' (S10).

2.1. General Analysis.

The length of the produced utterances is considerably different for the groups of speakers under consideration. The native speakers of English (N=50) used 3,424 words to cover the 20 situations of the Discourse-Completion Task (see chapter 3 (2.2.) and Appendix III for the task items). The native speakers of German (N=50) used slightly less, i.e. 3,347. The two native speaker groups exhibited similar behaviour throughout the entire spectrum of situations and used on average 3 words to reply to a phatic stimulus (THANKING and LEAVETAKING) and 4 to reply to a non-phatic one (DECLINING or ACCEPTING an offer). This gives a total mean utterance length of 3.4 words for both groups.

The learners of English (N=61) use a total of 7,394 words. This gives an average of 5 words per utterance for the phatic encounters, 7 words per utterance for situations in which an offer is accepted and 11 words per utterance for the situations in which it is declined. The learners of German (N=61) use a total of

8,824 words, with 6 words per utterance for the phatic encounters and 9 words per utterance for non-phatic situations.

In order to examine whether these differences in utterance length are significant, an Analysis of Variance was carried out. An analysis of this kind enables us to compare the mean utterance length in the different configurations simultaneously and assess the significance of any differences between the mean utterance length. The independent variables are: Language with two levels (English and German), Speaker Group with two levels (learners and native speakers) and Move with two levels (phatic and non-phatic). The dependent variable is Utterance Length expressed as the number of words in the different situations. The null hypothesis to be tested can be formulated as follows:

Null Hypothesis 1: Utterance Length is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or Type of Move.

The three-way ANOVA was carried out by means of the SPSS-x software package and the result is summarized in Table 4.1.

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Main Effects	15772.926	3	5257.642	281.877**
Language	316.655	1	316.655	16.977**
Speaker Group	11452.497	1	11452.497	614.001**
Move	4067.645	1	4067.645	218.078**
Two-Way Interactions	1053.071	3	351.024	18.819**
Lang.-Sp.Group	485.067	1	485.067	26.006**
Language-Move	15.125	1	15.125	.811
Sp.Group-Move	554.660	1	554.660	29.737**
Three-Way Interaction				
Language-Sp.Group-Move	2.719	1	2.719	.146
Explained	16828.717	7	2404.102	128.891**
Residual	82592.104	4432	18.652	
Total	99420.821	4439	22.417	

**p < .000

4440 cases were processed - 0 cases were missing

Table 4.1.: Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Utterance Length Related to Language, Speaker Group and Move.

From the analysis it seems possible to conclude that the independent variables Language, Speaker Group and Move each have a significant effect on the dependent variable Utterance Length ($p < .01$)*. The significance of these main effects indicates that:

1. Mean Utterance Length is significantly higher in German than in English (5.45 vs. 4.93).
2. The learners use significantly longer utterances than the native speakers (6.64 vs 3.42).
3. Speakers produce significantly longer utterances in non-phatic than in phatic endphases (6.49 vs. 4.49).

However, this interpretation has to be approached with some caution, since the two-way interactions Language - Speaker Group and Speaker Group - Move are also significant. This requires closer investigation, before drawing final conclusions about the relevance of the main effects themselves. Indeed, in establishing the statistical significance of, for instance, the main effect Language, the ANOVA-technique confounds the other variables Move and Speaker Group with this variable. As a result, the significance of Language may be caused by the variable with which it interacts and consequently claims about the variables that enter into the interaction may have to be modified (Hatch and Farhaday, 1982). In order to make the interpretations of these interactions more insightful, they will be presented graphically.

The interaction between the independent variables Language and Speaker Group is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

From Figure 4.1., it can be seen that the learners use longer utterances than the native speakers and this observation holds for the two languages involved. This is consistent with the main effect of Speaker Group described above. The significant interaction however indicates that the difference in utterance length as a function of language is only important in the learner group; in the native speaker group, there is virtually no difference between the languages. This suggests that the importance of the main effect Language has to be re-evaluated, in the sense that it only holds for the learner group.

* The level of significance for all the ANOVA's is set at $p < .01$.

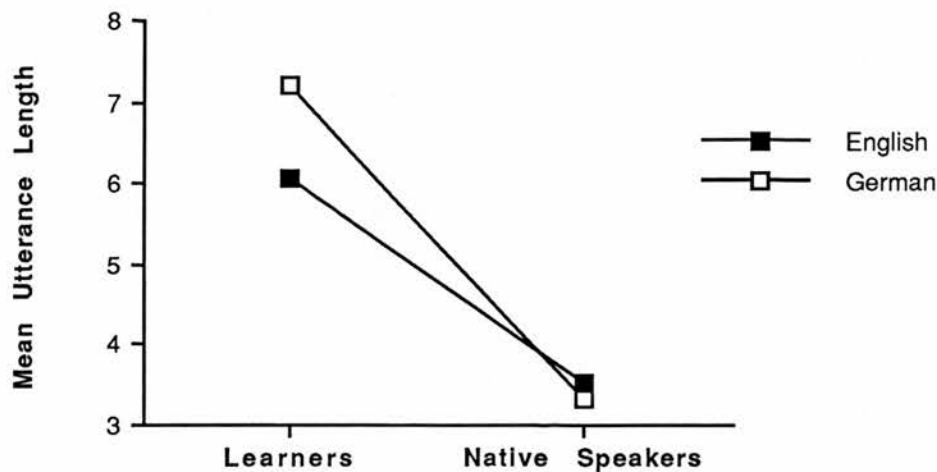


Figure 4.1.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Mean Utterance Length.

The interaction between the variables Speaker Group and type of Move is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

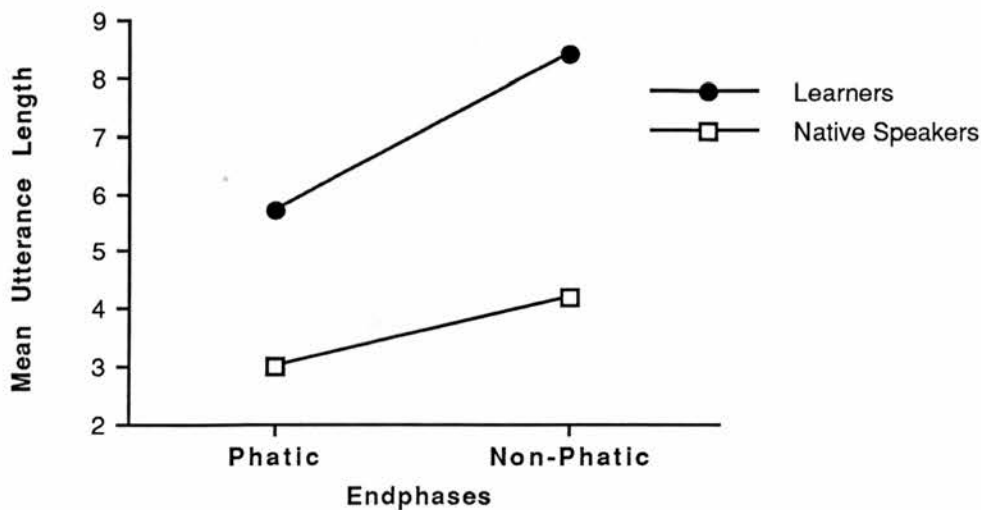


Figure 4.2.: Two-Way Interaction between Speaker Group and Type of Move for Mean Utterance Length.

From Figure 4.2. it emerges that speakers use more words in non-phatic utterances than in phatic utterances. This holds for both groups of speakers, although this trend is slightly more outspoken for the learners and it is this effect that is expressed by the significant interaction.

From the discussion it can thus be inferred that only the variables Speaker Group and type of Move have a significant effect on Mean Utterance Length, while the differences as a function of language are clearly of less importance.

If the statistical significance of the variables Speaker Group and Move are put into more descriptive terms, it can be seen that on the cross-linguistic axis the learners use twice as many words per utterance than the native speakers. If we look at the functional axis, the phatic situations on average require approximately half the number of words of more referential situations. On the linguistic axis finally, it can be argued that the relevance of Language as a main effect is marginal, since any differences in Mean Utterance Length as a function of Language are related to Speaker Group: for the learners, there is a difference in mean utterance length in English and German, but this is not the case for the native speakers.

2.2. Phatic Situations.

The phatic situations can be subdivided in terms of their illocutionary force as situations in which the speaker takes leave or thanks for services rendered. In this section, mean utterance length in the phatic situations is analysed, first in terms of illocutionary force and secondly with respect to the type of encounter. When appropriate, comparisons are made with the non-phatic situations.

2.2.1. General Presentation of the Data.

To acquire an insight into what happens in the different situations, mean utterance length for the learner groups in the different situations is given in Table 4.2.

For the learners of English Table 4.2. indicates that four situations rank high in terms of the average number of words per utterance. They are: S2 in which a cup of tea is refused, the offer for a drink in the pub (S4) or more dessert is declined (S8), and finally, the genuinely phatic situation S11 in which the participant leaves after a party. At the low end of the scale is situation 7, in which thanking for opening a door is acknowledged. The formulaic thanking for showing the way to the zoo (S1) and the service situations (at the station (S9), the box office (S12), the supermarket (S13) and the doctor's (S19)) rank slightly higher.

	Learners of English		Learners of German	
	sit.	mean	mean	
THANKING	S1	4*	3	
	S7	2	3	
	S9	4	6	
	S12	4	3	
	S11	10	11	
	S16	8	10	
	S17	6	11	total MUL: 7
LEAVETAKING	S3	5	3	
	S13	4	4	
	S19	4	7	
	S20	8	10	
	S15	5	5	
	S18	5	6	total MUL: 6
DECLINING	S2	16	10	
	S4	12	-	
	S6	8	9	
	S8	11	13	
	S14	7	9	total MUL: 10
ACCEPTING	S2	8	10	
	S4	8	9	
	S6	8	11	
	S8	8	13	
	S14	5	5	total MUL: 9

Table 4.2.: Mean Length of Utterance (MUL) per Situation for the Learners of English and German.

* The means are obtained from the raw scores and calculated to 2 decimals. Only in the last instance are the numbers rounded.

In summary, the phatic situations in interlanguage English have an average of between 2 and 10 words per utterance, with most situations situated at the lower end of this scale. DECLINING has a high mean of between 7 and 16 words per utterance, whereas ACCEPTING has between 5 and 8 words.

For interlanguage German there is one situation which clearly stands out as far as length is concerned, i.e. situation 8 in which more dessert is either accepted or declined. It is interesting to note that in this situation the learners do not translate the positive and negative politeness needs (i.e. accepting vs. declining) into a difference in mean length. The situations in which the participant leaves after a party (S11) or takes leave of one of the guests (S17), and the situation in which the learner in the end decides to accept a gin and tonic (S6) all rank high. At the low end of the scale are the personal formulaic and service encounters: reciprocating thanks for showing the way to the zoo (S1) or opening a door (S7), thanking at the

box office (S9), leaving the butcher's (S3) and the supermarket (S13). As far as mean length of utterance goes, the encounter with the doctor (S19) is treated more as a personal than a service encounter. In general and as with the other learner group, the phatic situations are found at the lower end of the scale.

When these data are put in a wider perspective, i.e. comparing them with the native speaker findings, it can be observed that although there is great variance across the moves, the four speaker groups show the same functional tendency (see Figure 4.3.).

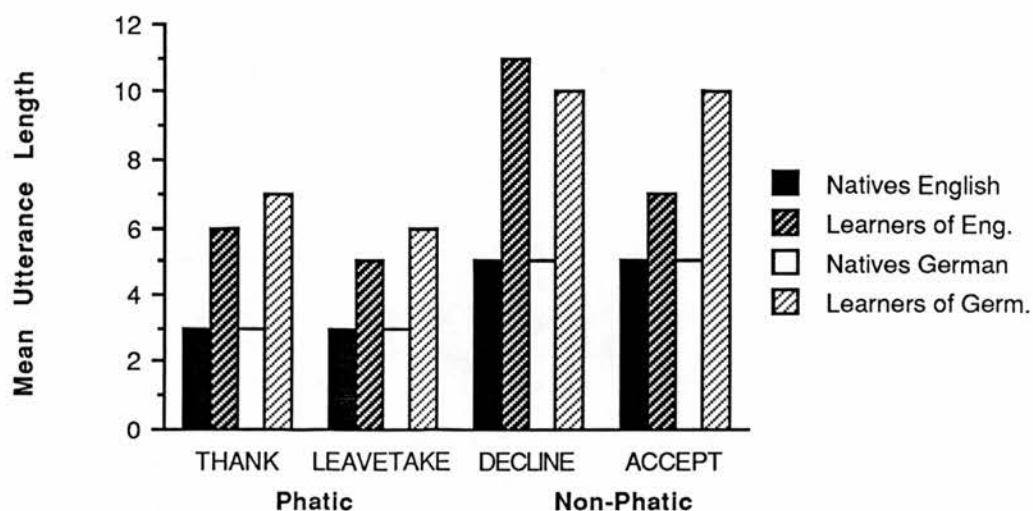


Figure 4.3.: Mean Length of Utterance in Phatic and Non-Phatic Moves for Native Speakers (Natives) of English (Eng.) and German (Germ.).

The native speakers give identical counts for both types of moves, whereas the learners show differing counts with a low count for the phatic situations and a high count for non-phatic situations. Moreover, in both learner groups the THANKING sequences are longer than LEAVETAKING. Even though the learners of German on the whole produce longer utterances than the learners of English, it is interesting to note that the learners of English use more words when declining an offer. This underlines the idea that situations in which face-loss is an issue, i.e. in which an offer is declined, are experienced by the learners of English as requiring more elaborate replies.

2.2.2. Analysis of Mean Utterance Length for Illocutions.

In order to investigate the difference in mean utterance length for different types of phatic illocutions, a null hypothesis was formulated as follows:

Null Hypothesis 2: Utterance Length is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or type of Illocution.

An Analysis of Variance of mean utterance length as a function of Language (two levels), Speaker Group (two levels) and type of Illocution (two levels) indicates that Mean Utterance Length is significantly related to Speaker Group $F(1, 289.70)$: learners use longer utterances in phatic situations than native speakers (5.70 vs. 3.01). In addition, there is a significant difference in mean utterance length between LEAVETAKING and THANKING: THANKING sequences take more words per utterance (4.70) than LEAVETAKING (4.24). Although this difference is statistically significant ($F(1, 8.440)$), it is quite small in real terms and consequently does not deserve a great deal of attention. Finally, Language is also a significant factor ($F(1, 8.027)$), but interactions between Language - Speaker Group and Language - Illocution show that the effect of Language is not uniform. In the learner group, German has more words per utterance (6.20) than English (5.19). For the native speakers, the effect is reversed (English 3.13, German 2.88). Also, for the second interaction, (native speaker and learner) German has more words per utterance than English in THANKING sequences (5.11 vs. 4.29) whereas there is essentially no difference between the languages (including speaker groups) in LEAVETAKING sequences (4.24 vs. 4.23).

2.2.3. Analysis of Mean Utterance Length for Encounters.

After having carried out an analysis of mean utterance length for the different types of phatic illocutions, I will now briefly characterize the phatic endphases in terms of mean utterance length for the personal and service encounters. Along this socio-pragmatic axis the distribution of mean words per utterance shows the following picture (see Figure 4.4.).

Service encounters (S3, 9, 12, 13, 19) require less words than personal encounters (S1, 7, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20). In both types the learners use about twice as many words as the native speakers. The only slight deviation from this tendency is the more moderate behaviour of the English learners in personal encounters.

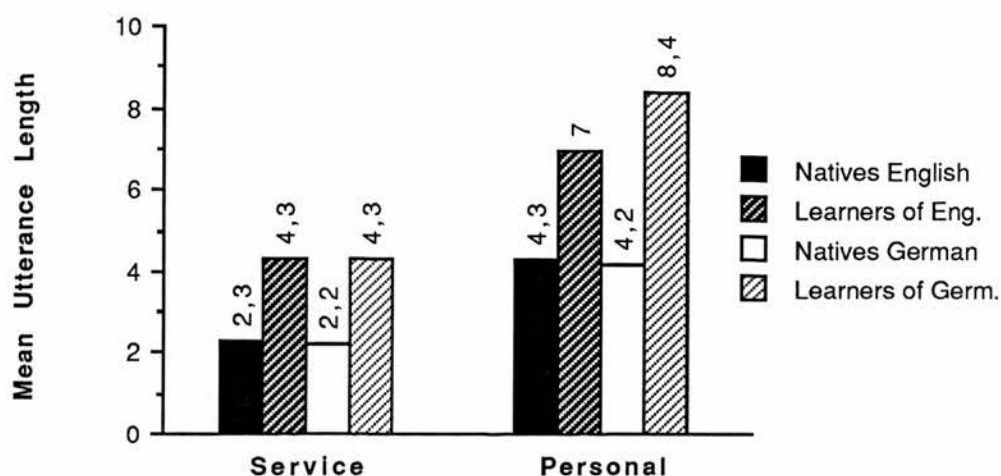


Figure 4.4.: Mean Utterance Length in Service and Personal Phatic Encounters for the Four Speaker Groups.

In order to investigate the statistical significance of these differences, an Analysis of Variance was carried out on mean utterance length in terms of the number of words per utterance. The independent variables are Language (English - German), Group (learners - native speakers) and type of Encounter (service - personal). The hypothesis to be tested is:

Null Hypothesis 3: Utterance Length is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or type of Encounter.

From the analysis, it appears that the three main effects are significantly related to mean utterance length. This is to say that the learners use significantly ($F(1, 305.604)$) more words per utterance than the native speakers (5.70 vs. 3.01) and this effect is consistent with that of the total sample described in section 2.1. In addition, ANOVA indicates that speakers use longer utterances in personal than in service encounters (5.26 vs. 3.24) ($F(1, 164.285)$). This is true for both language groups and both groups of speakers. Finally, a significant effect of Language ($F(1, 8.465)$) is observed, but it should be noted that this effect is not uniform: the significant two-way interaction between Language and Group ($F(1, 16.872)$) indicates that there is a difference in mean utterance length in English and German for the learner group only.

The two types of encounter can be divided into situations in which the speaker acts as agent bringing about THANKING (S9, 11, 12) or LEAVETAKING (S19, 20) and

encounters in which the speakers is the beneficiary of the THANKING (S1, 7, 16, 17) or LEAVETAKING (S3, 13, 15, 18). The intergroup findings for native speakers according to the social constellations of the encounters is shown in Figure 4.5.:

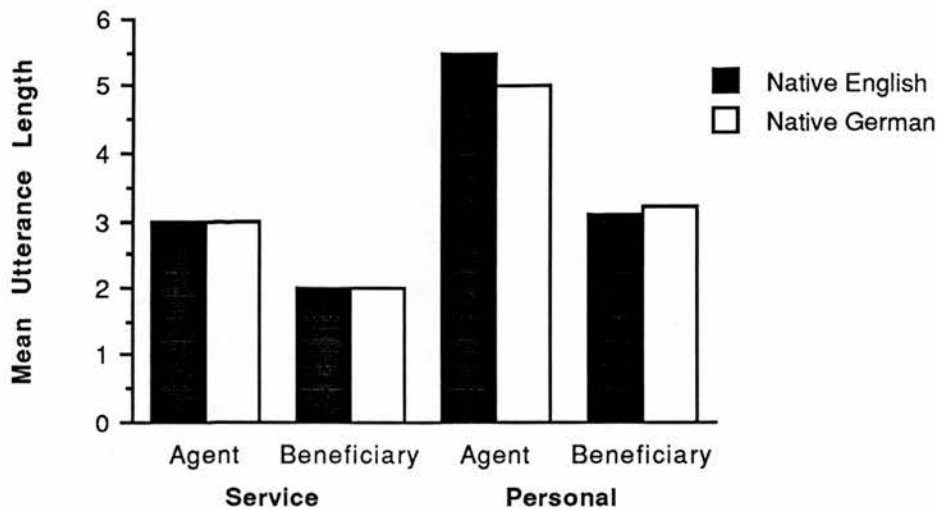


Figure 4.5.: Mean Utterance Length for Native Speakers (Native) of English and German for the Different Types of Encounter.

Since on the whole the two native speaker groups have the same mean utterance length for the different types of encounter, the following general remarks can be made. Whenever the speaker performs the active role of agent more words are needed, i.e. on average +1 in service (S9, 12, 19) and +2 in personal encounters (S11, 20). The highest mean utterance length is located in personal encounters with the speaker adopting the role of agent. The only marked intergroup difference is to be found in precisely these encounters: English uses here on average 0.4 words more than German.

When grouping the phatic situations according to their social constellations, the following picture emerges for interlanguage English and German (see Figure 4.6.). There is only slight variance between the different speaker roles in interlanguage English. In encounters between 'familiar' an average of 7 words per utterance is used. The personal encounters with the speaker as agent (S11, S20) are on average one third longer than the sequences in which the speaker is the recipient and acknowledging or reciprocating is aimed at. Within this last category the formulaic sequences (S1, S7) have as expected a low average of 3 words per utterance.

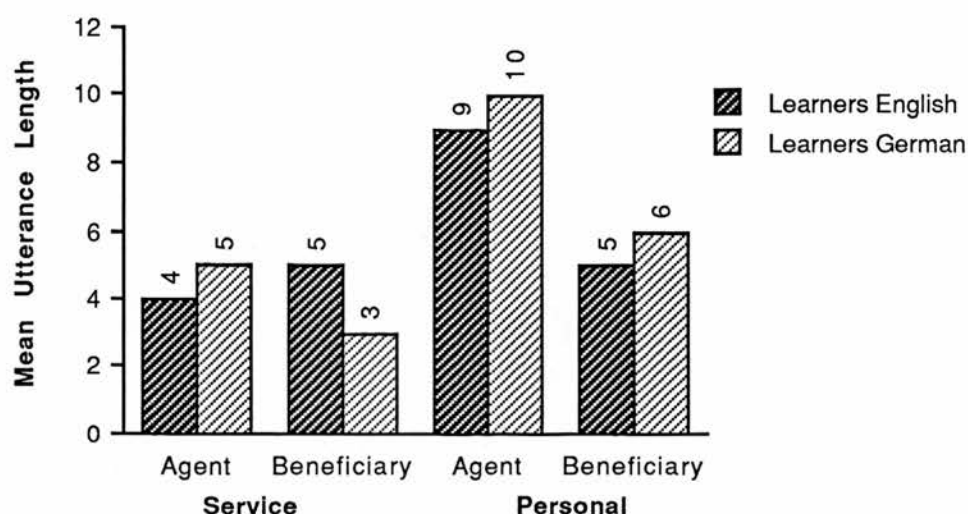


Figure 4.6.: Mean Utterance Length per Type of Encounter for Learners of English and German.

In interlanguage German the number of words increases when the speaker functions as agent (S9, 12, 19) as opposed to when the role is beneficiary (S3, 13). In personal encounters the mean utterance has twice this length, i.e. 8. Agent-utterances (S11, 20) take considerably more words (i.e. 10) than beneficiary-utterances (S1, 7, 16, 17, 15, 18) (i.e. 6). The formulaic sequences (S1, 7) within this category have a mean of 3.

As a final point it has to be mentioned that the learners of German behave like their native counterparts in formulaic encounters (S1, 7), unlike the learners of English who use nearly twice as many words, especially in the first situation, where after having shown the way to a friend they seem to feel that they have ample opportunity to expand on it. However it has to be noted here that S1 was the first situation to occur in the task after the test item. At that stage the learners might have felt a stronger compulsion to provide an extensive reply.

2.3. Summary of the Findings.

A comparison of the mean utterance length for the speaker groups leads to the following conclusion. On the **linguistic** axis it can be observed that English and German require the same utterance length to fulfil the different interactive goals and that both languages are consistent across the functional and social axes. The **interlanguage**-specific conclusion is that the learners use significantly more words per utterance than the native speakers. This phenomenon is slightly stronger

for interlanguage German than for interlanguage English, especially in personal encounters. It is also observed that there is a difference between learners of English and German, in that the learners of German use more words per utterance. On the **functional** axis it can be concluded that non-phatic endphases take more words than phatic endphases. When phatic endphases are analysed separately in terms of their illocution (THANKING - LEAVETAKING) and encounter (personal - service), it was observed that mean utterance length was significantly different for THANKING and LEAVETAKING sequences, although the difference in real terms was marginal. In addition, it was noted that personal encounters take significantly longer utterances than service encounters. When ranking the situations with respect to mean utterance length, it was established that personal encounters (S11, S16, S17, S20) require on average most words per utterance, formulaic and service encounters (S1, S7, S9, S12, S3, S13) have a low mean utterance length, whereas LEAVETAKING sequences with 'familiar' (friend, teacher and doctor) are to be situated in the middle. The only deviation from this pattern is to be found in the English learner group, where on average fewer words are being used to take leave from the doctor (S19) than from the butcher (S3).

2.4. Discussion.

The analysis of the samples' differences has resulted in the finding that learners use significantly longer procedures to realize endphases. This preference for long utterances can be ascribed to different factors, some of which are of a linguistic nature whereas others are socio-pragmatic. Apart from the fact that the learners feel the need to come up with the most correct word, phrase or idiom, there are also other aspects of appropriateness which they are apprehensive about. It has been shown in previous research by, among others, Rintell and Mitchell (1989, 266) that learners are especially concerned with sounding adequately polite. This can be achieved by adopting indirect syntactic structures. Compare, for instance, examples (2) and (3):

(2) S6: I am awfully sorry, but I am not really fond of gin and tonic.

(3) S6: I don't like gin and tonic.

Another way to achieve an adequate level of politeness is by rephrasing and repeating politeness formulae.

(4) S11: I will do so and thank you ^ thank you for a nice evening.

Directly connected with politeness is the learners' anxiety to react adequately. This extends from striking the right register to using the correct intonational patterns. Another concern appears to be clarity. The learners experience the need to get the message across as clearly as possible. This accounts for the numerous instances in the data where the learners rephrase or add new phrases in order to clarify a point adequately, which to a native speaker may seem redundant. The concern with correctness, politeness and clarity underlie the general phatic urge for the utterance to come across as sincere, which is also realized by means of the above-mentioned strategies.

These socio-pragmatic learner anxieties indirectly come to the fore in linguistic explicitness. On a basic level this means that the learners seem to prefer full forms, e.g. 'I will' vs. native speaker 'I'll'. A related strategy which is quite frequent in the data is that the learners repeat part of the stimulus or use vertical structures, especially in acknowledging LEAVETAKING, instead of more economic procedures such as ellipsis. Even though all the replies are categorized as prepatterned informal interaction, the learners tend towards complete responses, which is especially striking in the phatic encounters, but this is in line with previous research on referential data. This feature is exemplified in (5):

- (5) S1: You have shown a friend the way to the local zoo.
 She says: Thanks a lot.
 - Oh doesn't matter I was going the same way so I could just show it to you.

The learner reciprocates the THANKING and expands upon it by stating the reason why it was no trouble. This is in strong contrast with a native-like reply to the same situation:

- (6) S1: -You're welcome.

In line with these comments, Kasper (1981, 1982) observed that learners prefer propositional explicitness where native speakers would favour shorter and more implicit modes of expression.

It can be concluded that the learners' tendency towards loquacity as already noted by Levenston (1971) is here extended to outside the pragmatic dimension of speech act behaviour into the phatic dimension. However, the observed differences between the learner and native speaker data are of a quantitative and not a qualitative nature. In

other words, the four groups have similar answering patterns and only the extent of the answers is different. The following functional and socio-pragmatic findings are valid for the four groups:

1. Non-phatic moves are significantly longer than phatic moves (mean utterance length of 6.49 vs. 4.49).
2. THANKING has a higher mean utterance length than LEAVETAKING (4.70 vs. 4.24).
3. Personal encounters take significantly more words than service encounters (5.26 vs. 3.24).

Thus, the differences are to be situated on the cross-linguistic axes and not on the cultural, functional or socio-pragmatic. On the basis of this observation, I would like to suggest that there is a discrepancy between the learners' procedural knowledge and their linguistic knowledge/performance. In other words, they know that a different type of behaviour is required to accommodate the different needs of the situations. However, their linguistic performance is sometimes deviant, which becomes clear in the repetitions, hesitations and the like. Along these lines, one could even argue that the learners of German are less proficient than the learners of English: although they behave very much like their native speaker counterparts, they use more words across the entire continuum.

Consequently, this differential loquacity, not content-wise but only linguistically, leads to the research question: are the differences between the native speaker and learner realizations of phatic endphases a matter of discrepancy between competence and performance, i.e. are they related to the level of proficiency? In line with the above findings it might be predicted that the longer learner utterances probably also contain more modification, which perhaps is not qualitatively but only quantitatively different from the native speaker modification.

3. Interactional Structure of the Moves.

The learners' tendency to be propositionally explicit does not only come to the fore in the mean length of the moves they produce, but also in the interactional structure of the moves. The moves constituting the second or satisfying part of the exchange can be subdivided into instances where no verbal reply is given (cf. 2.) and

utterances consisting of single or multiple heads. A straightforward single head within the context of situation 1 is like (7):

- (7) S1: You have shown a friend the way to the local zoo. She says:
 Thanks a lot.
 -That's okay.
 RECIPROCATE

A multiple head takes the form:

- (8) S1: -That's okay. See you later.
 RECIPROCATE LEAVETAKE

3.1. General Analysis.

A first look at the numbers set out according to the main illocutionary aim of the head, provides a varied picture for the native speaker group (see Figure 4.7.).

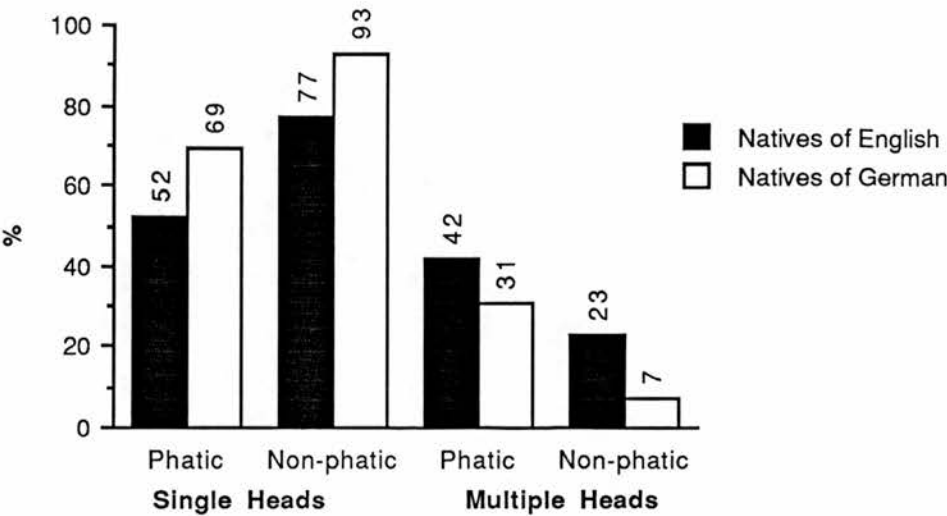


Figure 4.7.: Occurrence of Heads in the Native Speaker Groups (in %).

In native speaker moves there is a clear tendency to use single heads both in phatic and non-phatic endphases. Multiple heads in contrast occur considerably less often, but they seem to be preferred in phatic moves.

A less equivocal picture for the learners emerges from Figure 4.8.

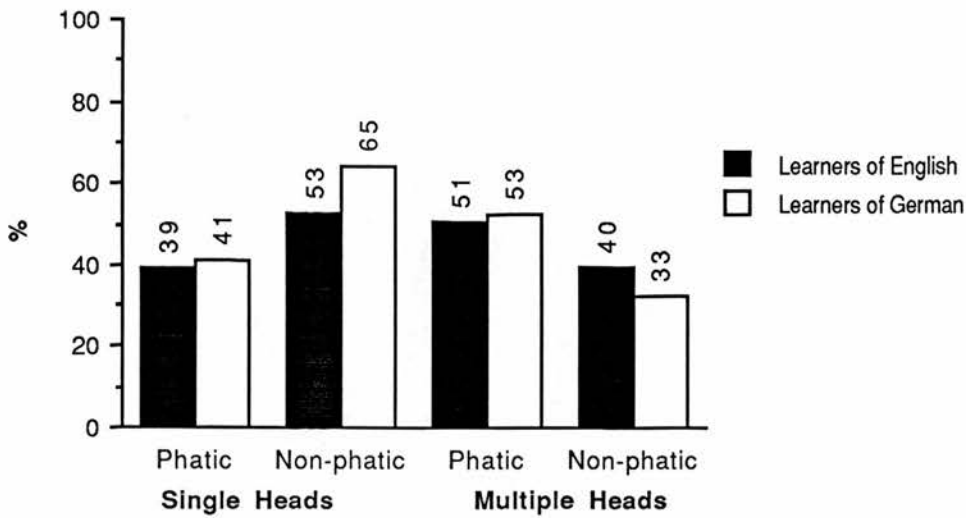


Figure 4.8.: Occurrence of Heads in the Learner Groups (in %).

Non-phatic moves predominantly take single heads. Within phatic moves the learners seem to opt for multiple heads, especially when taking leave. This is the case for 68% of interlanguage English moves and 60% of interlanguage German moves.

The question whether these differences in the occurrence of interactional structures are significant is addressed by an Analysis of Variance. I have carried out an analysis on the occurrence of single heads and one on multiple heads, but since the two types are complementary (except for the few cases in which no reply is given, cf. 2.), I will only present the analysis for multiple heads. All statements about multiple heads are in reverse true for single heads. Thus, an analysis of multiple heads encompasses an analysis of single heads.

The independent variables in the analysis are Language (with the levels English and German), Speaker Group (native speakers and learners) and Move (phatic vs. non-phatic endphases). The dependent variable is the proportion of Multiple Heads calculated per type of move for each subject. The null hypothesis is:

Null Hypothesis 4: the occurrence of Multiple Heads is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or Type of Move.

The result of the three-way ANOVA for Multiple Heads is presented in Table 4.3.

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Main Effects	6.540	3	2.180	56.708**
Language	.698	1	.698	18.148**
Speaker Group	3.102	1	3.102	80.700**
Move	2.740	1	2.740	71.277**
Two-Way Interactions	1.019	3	.340	8.837**
Lang.-Sp.Group	.757	1	.757	19.694**
Language-Move	.231	1	.321	6.000
Sp.Group-Move	.031	1	.031	.817
Three-Way Interaction				
Language-Sp.Group-Move	.008	1	.008	.214
Explained	7.568	7	1.081	28.121**
Residual	16.761	436	.038	
Total	24.329	443	.055	

**p < .000
444 cases were processed - 0 cases were missing

Table 4.3.: Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Occurrence of Multiple Heads Related to Language, Speaker Group and Move.

The independent variables Language, Speaker Group and Move each contribute significantly to the occurrence of Multiple Heads ($p < .01$). The significance of these main effects indicates that:

1. The occurrence of multiple heads is higher in English than in German (0.40 vs. 0.32).
2. The learners use significantly more multiple heads than the native speakers (0.43 vs. 0.27).
3. Speakers generally prefer multiple heads in phatic endphases as opposed to non-phatic endphases (0.44 vs. 0.28).

However, the two-way interaction between Language and Speaker Group is also significant. This interaction is visualized in Figure 4.9.

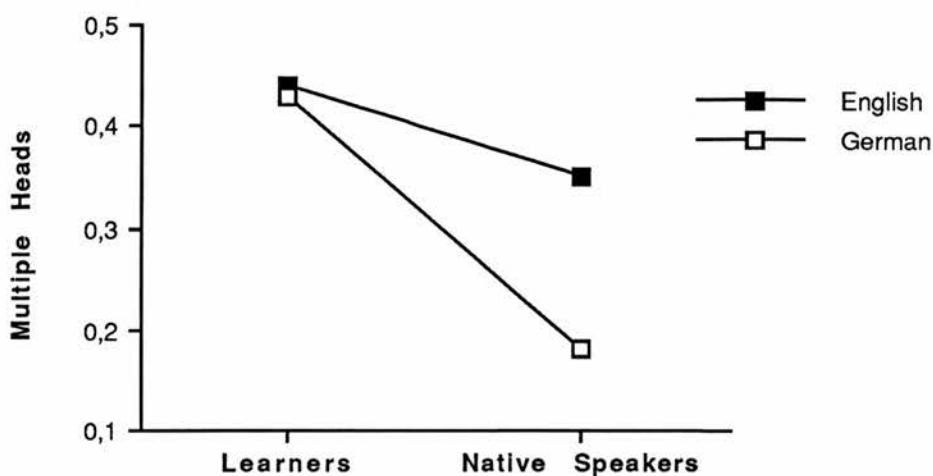


Figure 4.9.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Occurrence of Multiple Heads (Proportionate).

In Figure 4.9. it can be seen that the learners use more multiple heads than the native speakers. This observation is true for both languages and as such is entirely in tune with the main effect of Speaker Group. The interaction indicates that the difference in occurrence of multiple heads as a function of Language is only important in the native speaker group. There is virtually no difference between the languages in the learner group. As with Mean Utterance Length, this indicates that the significance of the main effect Language has to be modified; in this case it only holds for the native speaker group.

3.2. The Interactional Structure of Phatic Situations.

3.2.1. Illocutions and Multiple Heads.

The relationship between the occurrence of multiple heads and the type of illocutions in phatic situations was examined quantitatively by means of an Analysis of Variance. The null hypothesis to be tested is:

Null Hypothesis 5: the occurrence of Multiple Heads is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or Type of Illocution.

The dependent variable in the analysis is the proportion of occurrence of Multiple Heads in the THANKING and LEAVETAKING situations. The independent variables are: Language (English - German), Speaker Group (Learners - Native Speakers) and

type of Illocution (THANKING - LEAVETAKING). This analysis shows that the occurrence of multiple heads is significantly determined by the factors Group (F (1, 56.199)) and Illocution Type (F (1, 126.595)). Language is not significant. In more concrete terms, this indicates that learners use significantly more multiple heads than native speakers (0.51 vs. 0.36). In addition, LEAVETAKING sequences have significantly more multiple heads than THANKING sequences (0.56 vs. 0.33). The significant interaction between Language and Group suggests that the difference in the occurrence of multiple heads between learners and native speakers is more outspoken in German than it is in English.

It can furthermore be indicated that the linguistic characteristic for German phatic utterances in general is the presence of less multiple heads than in English (0.32 vs. 0.40). English even prefers multiple heads in LEAVETAKING. Interlanguage German and interlanguage English prefer multiple heads, especially in LEAVETAKING. A target-language specific deviation is found in interlanguage German which has an equal representation of both heads in THANKING (i.e. 45%) as opposed to native speaker German with single heads in 79% of THANKING moves.

3.2.2. Heads in Types of Encounters.

As a general orientation, the choice of heads in the different types of encounter is presented in Table 4.4.

		Service Single Heads	Encounters Multiple Heads	Personal Single Heads	Encounters Multiple Heads
Native Speaker	English	63	33	46	45
Native Speaker	German	81	18	62	37
Learner	English	43	47	42	55
Learner	German	52	46	39	61

Table 4.4.: Occurrence of Heads in Different Types of Encounter for the Different Speaker Groups and Languages (in %).

On the whole, native speakers go for single heads in service and personal encounters, although this is less pronounced in English personal encounters. There is a considerable discrepancy between the native speaker and learner group: the learners opt for multiple heads in both service and personal encounters, with the learners of German preferring single heads in service encounters as the one exception.

The difference in the patterns were investigated by means of an ANOVA. The independent variables are Language with the levels English and German, Speaker group with the levels native vs. non-native speakers and Encounter with two levels: service and personal encounter. The dependent variable is the proportional occurrence of Multiple Heads. The null hypothesis to be tested takes the form:

Null Hypothesis 6: the occurrence of Multiple Heads is not dependent on
 Language, Speaker Group and/or Type of Encounter.

The analysis shows that the variables Speaker Group ($F(1, 58.992)$) and Type of Encounter ($F(1, 25.764)$) are significant ($p < .01$), whereas Language is not. A two-way interaction between Language and Speaker Group is also significant and can be seen in Figure 4.10.

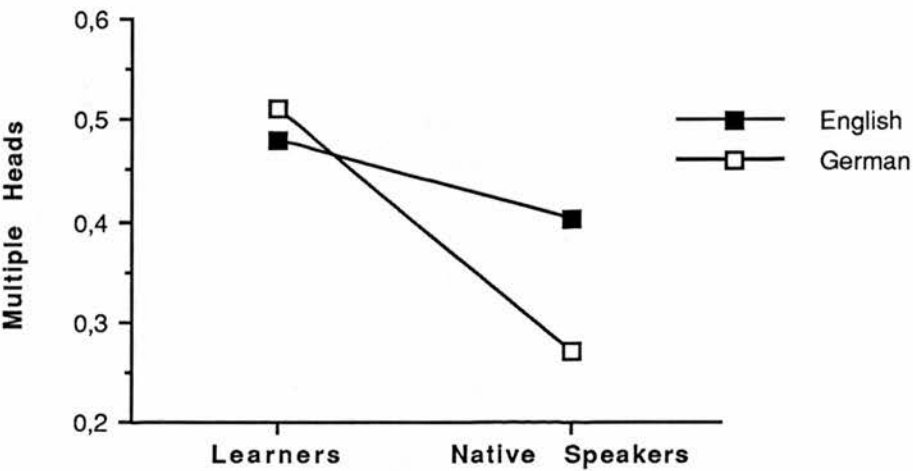


Figure 4.10.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Occurrence of Multiple Heads in Service and Personal Encounters (in Proportions).

The interaction shows that the difference in the occurrence of multiple heads in utterances produced by the learners and the native speakers of English is smaller than between the learners and native speakers of German (indicated by the steepness of the lines).
The general language-specific conclusion is that the occurrence of multiple heads is essentially the same in English and German, since Language as a factor is not significant in the Analysis of Variance. The interlanguage-specific conclusion is that

native speakers use significantly fewer multiple heads than learners (native speakers: 0.34; learners: 0.49). This underlines the tendency towards loquacity in the learners. Finally, it can be noted that personal encounters take significantly more multiple heads than service encounters (0.48 vs. 0.37).

3.3. Summary of the Findings.

From the quantitative analysis of multiple heads presented above it can be concluded that the occurrence of multiple heads is generally higher in English than in German: this difference is most outspoken in the native speaker group. In addition, it can be seen that learners use considerably more multiple heads than native speakers. Analysed in terms of type of move, multiple heads occur most often in phatic endphases.

A separate analysis of multiple heads in phatic endphases shows that there is essentially no difference between English and German. The significance of the factor Speaker Group has however the same effect as in the general analysis, in that learners use more multiple heads than native speakers: by implication native speakers use more single heads. Finally, it can be noted that the type of illocution as well as the type of encounter have an effect on the occurrence of multiple heads in phatic endphases. LEAVETAKING has more multiple heads than THANKING, while personal encounters have more multiple heads than service encounters.

3.4. Mean Utterance Length and Complex Interactional Structures.

I would like to finish this first part on the complexity of moves by relating mean utterance length to the observations on the interactional structure of the moves. Non-phatic moves have a longer mean utterance length in the two languages and the two speaker groups. This can now be shown to be inversely proportional to the complexity of the head, i.e. they have single heads. Moreover, THANKING and LEAVETAKING in the native speaker groups have the same mean utterance length, whereas THANKING tends to have single heads and LEAVETAKING multiple heads. The interlanguage phatic moves are longer and multiple headed, but LEAVETAKING sequences, in which the learners clearly prefer multiple heads, are shorter. The observation that interlanguage German uses longer utterances than interlanguage English, especially in personal encounters, can now be supplemented with the fact that it also has a strong tendency to use multiple heads in personal encounters. Maybe mean utterance length does not predict interactive complexity, but it can be seen as a supplementary measure of loquacity, i.e. it measures over-elaborateness.

4. Modification.

The term modification refers to the linguistic means which ensure compliance with the socio-pragmatic rules of a particular language, but it also implies the strategy used by individuals or groups to obtain this goal. Within the interactive endphases of communication, modal expressions are of major importance, since they have illocutionary force with which they modify the initial illocutionary force of the message and guarantee that the social demand of retaining psychological and social contact is met.

The aim of the following sub-sections is to describe the characteristics of modification for the different language groups. First, I will look into the occurrence of modification (internal and/or external) in general. Then, the two dimensions will be individually examined: internal vs. external. Finally, the co-occurrence of both dimensions will be analysed. Again the samples will be organized according to the three axes: language (English - German), speaker group (learners - native speakers) and move (phatic - non-phatic).

4.1. Analysis of the Modified Data.

4.1.1. Presentation of the Data.

The data have been grouped for the three types of modification: primary internal modification occurring in head utterances, as in example (9),

(9) S9: Thanks very much.

secondary modification occurring in additional heads, as in (10),

(10) S11: Thanks very much. I certainly will.

or supportive moves and external modification added to the head act, as in (11),

(11) S8: Sorry, I can't. I'm completely stuffed.

For general orientation, the distribution of modification along the functional axis for the native speakers of English and German is presented in Table 4.5.

This Table shows that there is more internal than external modification and the focus of modification is on the primary heads. Phatic endphases take exclusively internal modification. There is more spread across both dimensions in non-phatic endphases, for which German has more modification on all levels. The smallest difference with English is to be found for external modification.

	NATIVE SPEAKERS			
	ENGLISH		GERMAN	
	phatic	non-phatic	phatic	non-phatic
INTERNAL Modification				
Primary	2 6	6 7	3 8	7 4
Secondary	0	6	0	1 3
TOTAL	2 6	7 3	3 8	8 7
EXTERNAL Modification	0	2 6	0	2 9

Table 4.5.: Occurrence (and Co-Occurrence) of Internal and External Modification in the Native Sample (in %*).

* Occurrence of modification is expressed in %, since internal and external modification only co-occur in 1 of the English and 5 of the German moves.

The modification patterns for the learner groups also show a frequent occurrence of internal modification (see Table 4.6.).

	LEARNERS			
	ENGLISH		GERMAN	
	phatic	non-phatic	phatic	non-phatic
INTERNAL Modification				
Primary	3 5	6 4	6 2	8 7
Secondary	3	2 1	0	2 3
TOTAL	3 8	8 5	6 2	1 1 0
EXTERNAL Modification	5	5 7	1	6 0

Table 4.6.: Occurrence (and Co-Occurrence) of Internal and External Modification in the Learner Sample (in %).

The largest number of internal modifiers is used by the learners of German. Non-phatic moves take almost twice as much modification as phatic. The learner groups behave quite similarly to one another as far as secondary and external modification in non-phatic heads is concerned but the learners of English use more secondary internal modifiers and supportives in phatic encounters. External modification occurs most often in non-phatic encounters.

4.1.2. Quantitative Analysis.

In order to examine the influence of Type of Language, Speaker Group, Modification and Move on the occurrence of modification an Analysis of Variance on the entire sample was carried out. In this analysis there are four independent variables: Language with two levels (English and German), Speaker Group with two levels (native and non-native speakers), Modification with two levels (external and internal), and Move with two levels (phatic and non-phatic). The dependent variable is the mean occurrence of (external and/or internal) modification per utterance. The null hypotheses to be tested are:

- Null Hypothesis 7a: The amount of modification in English and German is the same.
- Null Hypothesis 7b: The amount of modification produced by the learners is the same as by the native speakers.
- Null Hypothesis 7c: The amount of modification in phatic encounters is the same as in non-phatic encounters.
- Null Hypothesis 7d: The amount of internal modification is the same as the amount of external modification.

The result of the Analysis of Variance is summarized in Table 4.7.

From this analysis, it seems possible to conclude that the independent variables each have a significant effect on the occurrence of modification. In other words, the effect of each of the factors Language, Speaker Group, Move and Modification is statistically significant at $p < .01$. The probability that, given that the hypothesis is true, a larger F statistic would occur due to random errors is smaller than .01 for all four factors. Thus, the hypotheses can be rejected, i.e. the samples are not all from the same population. The main effects can be summarized as follows:

1. German has a significantly higher proportion of modification in endphases than English (0.65 vs. 0.46).
2. Learners use significantly more modification than native speakers (0.67 vs. 0.42).
3. Modification occurs significantly more often in non-phatic than in phatic situations (0.82 vs. 0.30).

4. Internal modification occurs significantly more often than external modification (0.89 vs. 0.23).

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Main Effects	175.831	4	43.958	513.734**
Language	7.831	1	7.831	91.520**
Speaker Group	13.953	1	13.953	163.063**
Move	59.112	1	59.112	690.839**
Modification	94.936	1	94.936	1109.513**
Two-Way Interactions	14.283	6	2.381	27.821**
Language-Group	1.031	1	1.031	12.047**
Language-Mod.	7.652	1	7.652	89.425**
Language-Move	.228	1	.228	2.665
Group-Mod.	1.783	1	1.783	20.840**
Group-Move	1.686	1	1.686	19.707**
Modification-Move	1.903	1	1.903	22.243**
Three-Way Interaction	2.130	4	.553	6.224**
Lang.-Group-Mod.	1.400	1	1.400	16.358**
Lang.-Group-Move	.113	1	.113	1.318
Lang.-Mod.-Move	.015	1	.015	.173
Group-Mod.-Move	.603	1	.603	7.046**
Four-Way Interaction				
Lang.-Group-Mod.-Move	.015	1	0.15	.181
Explained	192.260	15	12.817	149.796**
Residual	74.613	872	.086	
Total	266.873	887	.301	

**p < .000

888 cases were processed - 0 cases were missing

Table 4.7.: Four-Way Analysis of Variance for Occurrence of Modification Related to Language, Speaker Group, Type of Modification and Type of Move.

The interpretation of the results, as it stands, may not entirely be realistic, since the F-ratio for five of the six two-way interactions is significant. This means that while one dimension of modification has a higher count than the other, this may be related to the type of language used, the speaker group using it or the move in which it is used, and while one language has a higher count than the other, this can be

related to the speaker group using it or the type of modification used, etc. The first interaction between Language and Speaker Group is visualized in Figure 4.11.

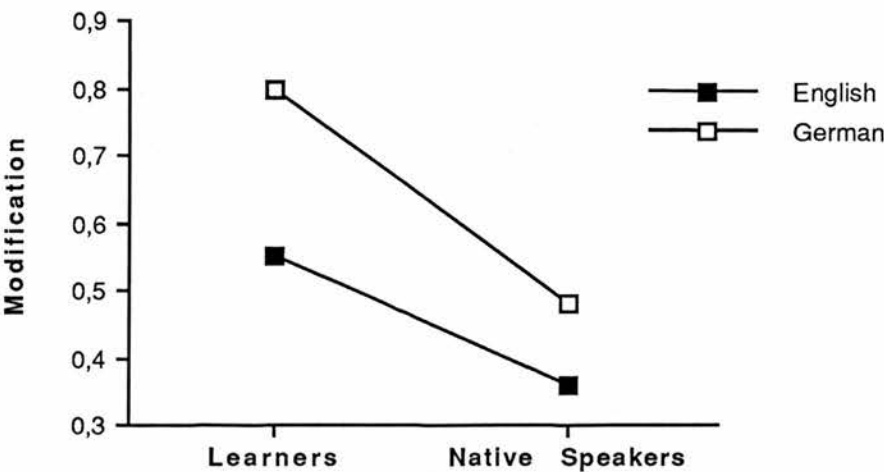


Figure 4.11.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Occurrence of Modification (Proportionate).

This two-way interaction indicates that German uses more modification than English, but that this difference is more outspoken for the learners than for the native speakers. In addition, the significant interaction between Language and type of Modification shows that the quantitative difference in the use of modification between the languages is only related to internal modification. This is illustrated in Figure 4.12.

Figure 4.12. tells us that German has a higher proportion of internal modification than English, whereas the amount of external modification is equal for both languages. This is essentially also expressed by the three-way interaction between Language - Speaker Group and Modification (see Figure 4.16.).

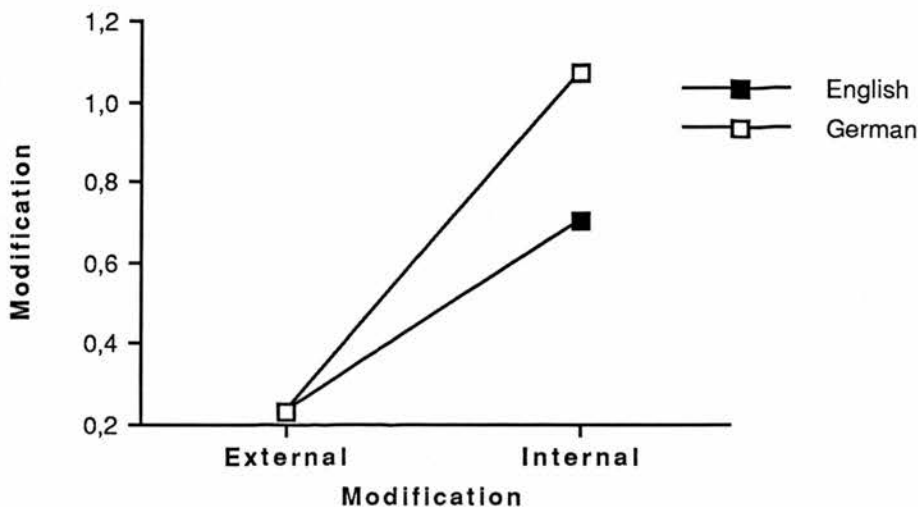


Figure 4.12.: Two-Way Interaction between Type of Modification and Language for Occurrence of Modification (Proportionate).

The third two-way interaction is represented in Figure 4.13.

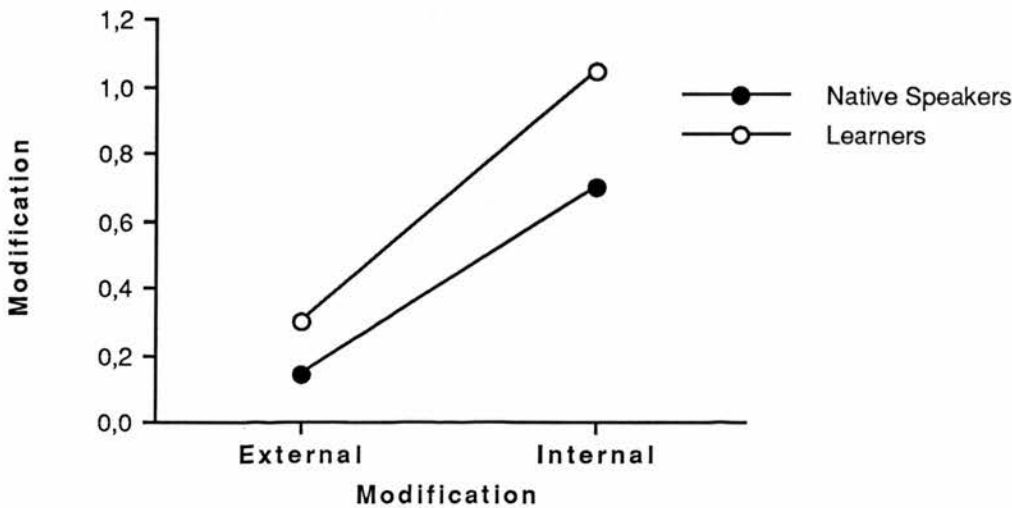


Figure 4.13.: Two-Way Interaction between Speaker Group and Type of Modification for Occurrence of Modification (Proportionate).

From Figure 4.13. it can be concluded that the learners use more modification than the native speakers and this is true for both external and internal modification. The interaction indicates that this difference is more outspoken for internal modification.

The fourth two-way interaction between type of Moves and Speaker Group is shown in Figure 4.14.

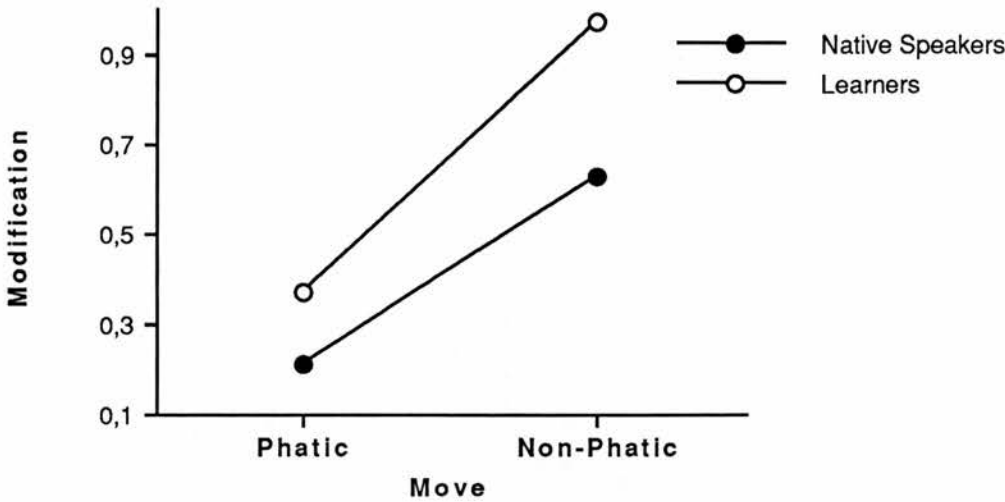


Figure 4.14.: Two-Way Interaction between Type of Moves and Speaker Group for Occurrence of Modification (Proportionate).

Again, the interaction has no repercussions on the main effect, since non-phatic moves have more modification than phatic moves. Moreover, learners modify more in both moves, a feature which is slightly less outspoken for phatic endphases. The last two-way interaction can be found in Figure 4.15.

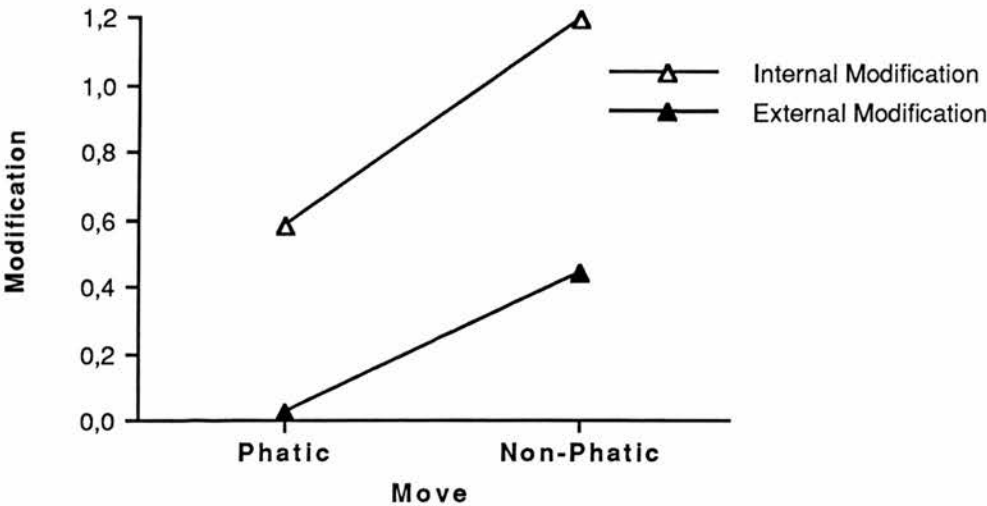


Figure 4.15.: Two-Way Interaction between Type of Modification and Move for Occurrence of Modification (Proportionate).

Figure 4.15. provides a picture of the relationship between types of Modification and Move. The factor Move has a high enough F-ratio to say that non-phatic moves take more modification than phatic moves both internally and externally. Also, phatic and non-phatic moves have more modification on the internal dimension of modification.

The three-way interactions are represented in Figures 4.16. and 4.17.

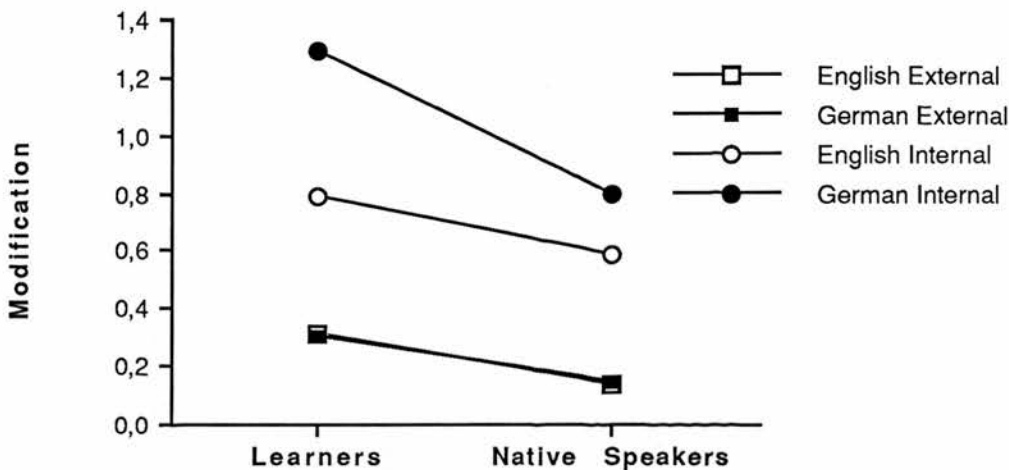


Figure 4.16.: Three-Way Interaction between Language, Speaker Group and Modification for Occurrence of Modification (Proportionate).

From Figure 4.16. it can be concluded that in both languages, the learners use more modification than the native speakers and that there is an overlap on the external dimension of modification for learners as well as native speakers.

In Figure 4.17. it is shown that in both moves, the learners use more modification than the native speakers, especially on the internal dimension of modification. Moreover, the two speaker groups use more internal than external modification and there is an overlap in the occurrence of external modification in learner and native speaker phatic endphases.

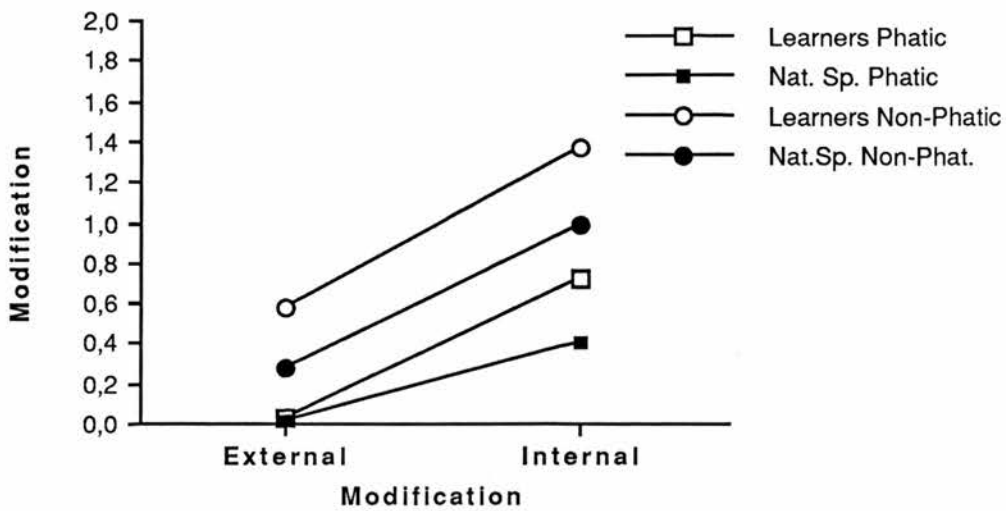


Figure 4.17.: Three-Way Interaction between Speaker Group, Modification and Type of Moves for Occurrence of Modification (Proportion).

In the above Figures 4.11.-4.17. it can be seen that the interaction of the four factors is important from different perspectives. From all this, the following points can be concluded:

1. German has a significantly higher proportion of modification in utterances than English, but this difference is only true for internal modification. The proportional occurrence of external modification in both languages is identical (cf. the interaction between Language and Modification).
2. Learners use significantly more modification than native speakers. This holds for both languages, although the difference is more outspoken in German than in English (cf. the interaction between Language and Group). It also holds for the two types of moves (phatic vs. non-phatic).
3. There is more modification in non-phatic than in phatic endphases.
4. There is more internal than external modification.

In the next part of this chapter, I will decompose the overall variance of modification into its internal and external components.

4.2. Internal Modification.

After having established how the different dimensions in modification relate to the different subsamples, a more detailed look will be taken at the upgrading and downgrading effect of internal modification.

4.2.1. Lexical/Phrasal Upgrading.

An upgrading effect is obtained by using lexical or phrasal upgraders. In the next section, I will report on the occurrence of the different categories of upgraders in different types of illocutions and in different types of encounters. I will not try to measure the degree of the impact, since the categories do not have the same weight and several upgraders can co-occur within one utterance. However, some indication of impact is implied in the category 'combination', which refers to literal or periphrastic repetition of some elements or phrases within one utterance (12) or to a combination of two linguistic elements within one category of upgrading (13):

(12) That's nothing ^ My pleasure.

RECIPROCATE RECIPROCATE

(13) Thank you very very much.

lexical intensifiers

4.2.1.1. General Analysis.

The native speakers of English use on average 0.59 internal modification per utterance (this covers both primary and secondary modification), whereas the native speakers of German have a proportion of 0.80 internal modification per utterance. In both languages the non-phatic endphases take twice as many upgraders as the phatic endphases. Within phatic moves the proportion of upgrading for English is 0.24 (or 166 occurrences) and for German 0.43 (or 281 occurrences). Non-phatic moves have 0.57 upgraders in English and 0.80 in German endphases. Learners of English have a proportion of internal modification of 0.79 per utterance. They internally upgrade 659 times, 366 of the upgraders occurring in phatic encounters, i.e. 42% of phatic utterances. The learners of German have a proportion of 1.29 internal modification per utterance. Intensification or upgrading occurs in 1119 cases, 630 of which are in phatic encounters (79% of phatic moves).

When comparing the four subsamples, the following interesting points emerge. Internal modifiers, which upgrade the impact of the utterance, occur more often in

German than in English. The learners of English modify their utterances internally only 7% more than the native speakers, whereas the learners of German do this 20% more compared to the native speakers of English. In order to investigate the significance of these differences, an Analysis of Variance was carried out on the proportions of upgrading. The independent variables in the analysis are Language (English and German), Speaker Group (learners and native speakers) and Move (phatic and non-phatic endphases). The null hypothesis to be tested is:

Null Hypothesis 8: The occurrence of upgraders is not dependent on
 Language, Speaker Group and/or type of Move.

The result of the Analysis of Variance is summarized in Table 4. 8.

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Main Effects	29.744	3	9.915	99.703**
Language	8.877	1	8.877	89.268**
Speaker Group	7.360	1	7.360	74.015**
Move	13.507	1	13.507	135.826**
Two-Way Interactions	1.128	3	.376	3.783**
Lang.-Sp.Group	1.011	1	1.011	10.163**
Language-Move	.105	1	.105	1.053
Sp.Group-Move	.013	1	.013	.131
Three-Way Interaction				
Language-Sp.Group-Move	.140	1	.140	1.412
Explained	31.012	7	4.430	44.553**
Residual	43.356	436	.099	
Total	74.369	443	.168	

**p < .01
444 cases were processed - 0 cases were missing

Table 4.8.: Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Occurrence of Upgrading
 Related to Language, Speaker Group and Move.

It is shown that the independent variables each contribute significantly to the occurrence of upgrading, in that their effect is statistically significant at $p < .01$. Thus, the null hypothesis can be rejected. However, one significant two-way interaction has to be looked into before drawing final conclusions. This interaction is presented in Figure 4.18.

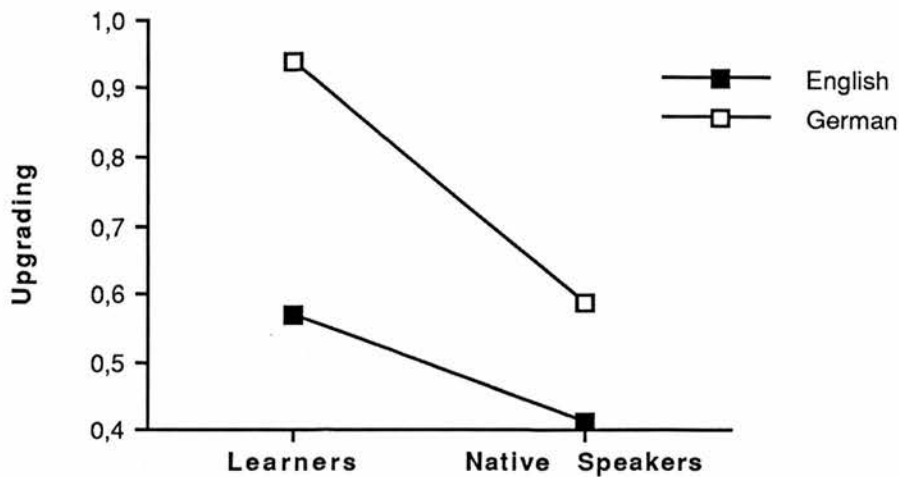


Figure 4.18.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Mean Occurrence of Upgrading.

Figure 4.18. shows that there is more upgrading in German than in English, but the significant interaction indicates that native speakers perform more alike than the learners. It should be noted that this Figure is quite similar to Figure 4.11. (cf. 4.1.2.), in which the two-way interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Modification in general was shown.

On the basis of the analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. German has significantly more upgrading than English (0.78 vs. 0.50).
2. Learners have significantly more upgrading than native speakers (0.76 vs. 0.50).
3. Non-phatic endphases take significantly more upgrading than phatic (0.81 vs. 0.47).

4.2.1.2. Upgrading in Different Types of Illocutions.

In this section, upgrading in the phatic endphases is investigated in terms of the different types of illocution. In the first instance, an Analysis of Variance was carried out to establish whether the amount of upgrading is different as a function of Language (English - German), Speaker Group (learners - native speakers) and type of Illocution (THANKING - LEAVETAKING). The dependent variable in the

analysis was the mean occurrence of upgrading per subject. The null hypothesis is formulated as follows:

Null Hypothesis 9: the occurrence of Upgrading in Phatic Endphases is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or type of Illocution.

The analysis shows that each variable has a significant effect on the occurrence of upgrading in phatic endphases: Language ($F(1, 114.778)$), Speaker Group ($F(1, 124.063)$), Illocution ($F(1, 111.343)$). In addition, the two-way interactions between Language and Speaker Group and Language and Illocution are significant. The first interaction ($F(1, 22.984)$) is illustrated in Figure 4.19.

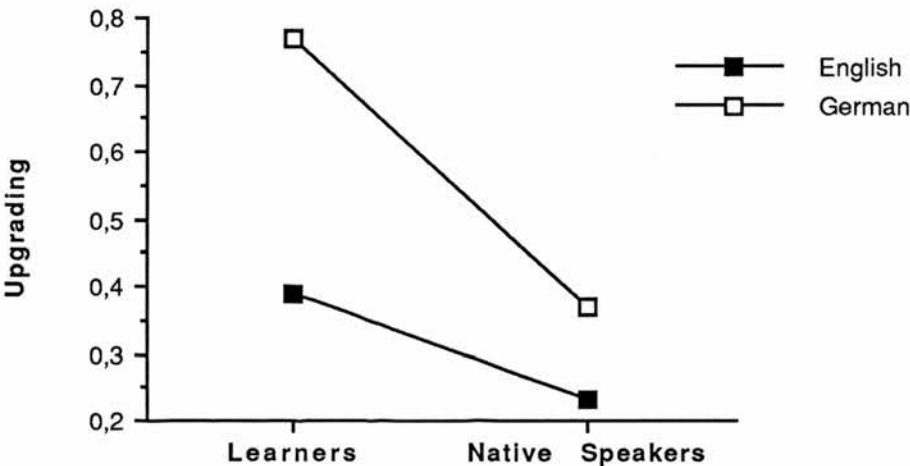


Figure 4.19.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for the Occurrence of Upgrading in THANKING and LEAVETAKING.

The interaction indicates that the difference in the occurrence of upgrading in phatic endphases as a function of language is more outspoken for the learners than for the native speakers.

The interaction between Language and Illocution ($F(1, 11.504)$) is illustrated in Figure 4.20.

This interaction is consistent with the main effects of Language and Illocution in that German has more upgraders than English, while THANKING has more upgraders than LEAVETAKING. It indicates that the differences in the occurrence of upgraders between the languages are less outspoken in LEAVETAKING than in THANKING.

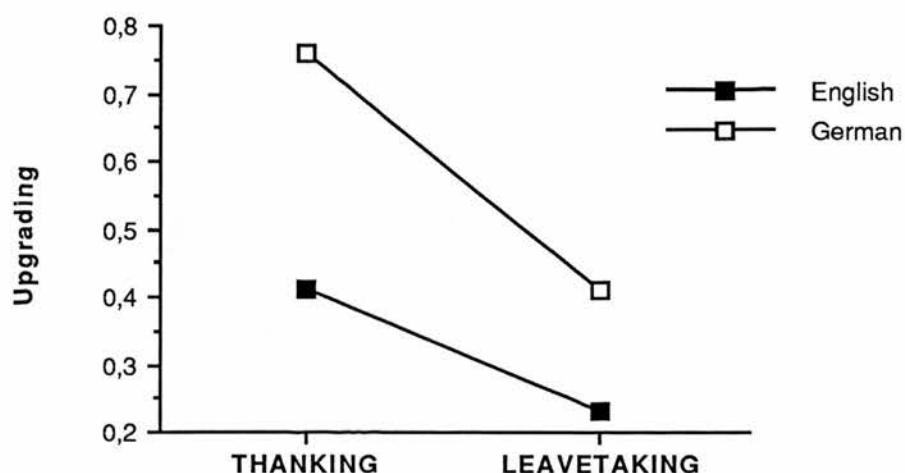


Figure 4.20.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Illocution for the Occurrence of Upgrading in THANKING and LEAVETAKING.

The general conclusions that can be arrived at can be summarized as follows:

1. German has significantly more upgrading in phatic endphases than English in both types of illocution (0.59 vs. 0.32).
2. Learners have significantly more upgrading in phatic endphases than native speakers in both types of illocution (0.58 vs. 0.30).
3. THANKING has most upgrading (0.59 vs. 0.32 in LEAVETAKING).

In order to acquire an insight into the nature of upgrading it is necessary to include a qualitative description of the different types of upgraders. It was pointed out earlier that there is significantly more upgrading in THANKING sequences than in LEAVETAKING, 111 vs. 55 occurrences for native speaker English and 213 vs. 68 for native speaker German. Especially in this case, German counts are high. Most occurrences of upgrading for both languages and all moves are found in the category of lexical/phrasal intensifiers and politeness markers (Table 4.9. first row).

	THANKING		LEAVETAKING		PHATIC Total		DECLINE/ ACCEPT	
	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.
Intensifier/ Politeness Marker	14	35	1	8	8	23	31	49
Understater	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	2
Uptoner/ Emotives	5	4	1	0	3	2	7	8
Commitment Indicator	1	1	4	7	3	4	8	4
Syntactic Upgrader	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0
Appealer/ Alerter	5	7	6	0	5	4	1	4
Time Intensifier	4	3	5	6	3	4	1	4
Combination	0	11	1	1	1	6	4	6
TOTAL*	0.28	0.61	0.18	0.23	0.24	0.43	0.57	0.80

Table 4.9.: Lexical/Phrasal Upgrading for Native Speakers of English (**Eng.**) and German (**Germ.**) (in %).

* The total occurrence of upgrading is expressed in a proportional number.

An example of lexical intensification within THANKING, LEAVETAKING and ACCEPTING is given in (14):

- (14) S11: Danke für die Einladung, das Fest hat mir sehr gut gefallen.
 S20: Nein ganz bestimmt nicht. Kann aber dauern bis ich schreibe.
 S8: Das sieht so gut aus, daß ich gerne ein wenig davon nehme.

One exception to this tendency are the English LEAVETAKING sequences, which are the least upgraded and in which appealers and alerters occur most often (N = 17) (15), directly followed by time indicators (N = 16) (16). For example:

- (15) S20: I will. You write to me as well.
 (16) S20: I won't. See you next year!

In the same type of illocution also the speakers of German have quite low and diverse counts. They use intensifiers in 8% of the utterances (N = 25) (17), commitment indicators in 7% (N = 20) (18) and time indicators in 6% of utterances (N = 19) (19). An instance of these three categories is given in the following examples:

(17) S20: Klar, ich melde mich sobald ich da bin.

(18) S20: Nein ganz bestimmt nicht. Kann aber dauern bis ich schreibe.

(19) S20: Ja sicher, gleich morgen. Tschüß!

In DECLINING/ACCEPTING most weight is on politeness markers, a subcategory of lexical intensifiers (20).

(20) S14: Oh yes, please.

S14: Ja, bitte.

German allows for more uptoners in non-phatic than in phatic endphases, particularly in the supportive moves of situation 8 when the speakers refuse more dessert and indicate how full they are (21).

(21) S8: Nein danke. Ich platze gleich.

The other upgrading categories have exactly the same count as in the phatic encounters. For English non-phatic endphases there are more upgraders except for appealers and time intensifiers.

The data for the learners are presented in Table 4.10. Within the interlanguage English phatic endphases, THANKING takes most upgrading. Of the different kinds of lexical/phrasal upgrading, the learners in general employ lexical (adverbial and adjectival) intensifiers. In THANKING there is also a high representation of indirect appealers of the form 'I hope you enjoyed the party'. In LEAVETAKING sequences intensifiers and commitment indicators feature equally often, but less high than the definite time indicator for making a new appointment, which is in line with the expected frame for this type of illocution.

When we compare the two types of endphases, we see that there are nearly twice as many instances of upgrading in the less phatic endphases than in the phatic, with most weight on intensifiers/politeness markers and a considerable weight on the combination or repetition of upgraders.

	THANKING		LEAVETAKING		PHATIC Total	DECLINE/ACCEPT	
	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng. Germ.	Eng.	Germ.
Intensifier/ Politeness Marker	24	58	8	27	16 44	38	62
Understater	4	1	0	0	2 1	6	2
Uptoner/ Emotives	5	6	0	1	3 4	6	5
Commitment Indicator	1	1	8	2	4 1	4	6
Syntactic Upgrader	2	1	1	1	1 1	3	1
Appealer/ Alerter	12	10	3	8	8 9	1	5
Time Intensifier	2	5	10	18	6 11	5	9
Combination	4	14	0	3	2 9	11	24
TOTAL	0.52	0.95	0.31	0.62	0.42 0.79	0.75	1.15

Table 4.10.: Lexical/Phrasal Upgrading for Learners of English and German (in %, the total is expressed in a proportional number).

If phatic moves are upgraded in interlanguage German, which is the case in nearly all THANKING sequences, the learners mainly opt for lexical/phrasal intensification. The phatic situations tend to incorporate quite a number of appealers. In LEAVETAKING the second highest occurrence of upgrading after lexical intensification is to be found with time intensifiers.

A comparison of the two right hand columns shows that there is clearly more upgrading in the non-phatic sequences. Worth noting is the fact that in 6% of the situations DECLINING an offer, the learners use determination markers, especially when reassuring the interactant that they do not want the drink offered:

(22) S4: Ja ganz sicher, denn ich mag kein Gin und Tonic.

4.2.1.3. Upgrading in Different Types of Encounter.

In this section I will analyse the differences in the phatic utterances according to the social constellations they represent. The influence of the independent variables Language (two levels), Speaker Group (two levels) and Encounter (two levels, i.e. personal and service encounters) on the occurrence of Upgrading (dependent variable) was investigated by means of a three-way Analysis of Variance. In this way the mean occurrence of upgrading can be compared for the different configurations and any differences between the mean occurrences can simultaneously be assessed. The null hypothesis to be tested is:

Null Hypothesis 10: the occurrence of Upgrading is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or type of Encounter.

The independent variables Language ($F(1, 103.255)$), Speaker Group ($F(1, 111.607)$) and Encounter ($F(1, 9.491)$) each have a significant effect on the occurrence of upgrading. Thus, the null hypothesis can be rejected: the occurrence of upgrading is indeed dependent on Language, Speaker Group and type of Encounter. However, the two-way interaction Language - Speaker Group is also significant. In order to be able to draw final conclusions about the relevance of the main effects, this interaction has to be looked into. Therefore, the means for Language and Speaker Group have been plotted in Figure 4.21.

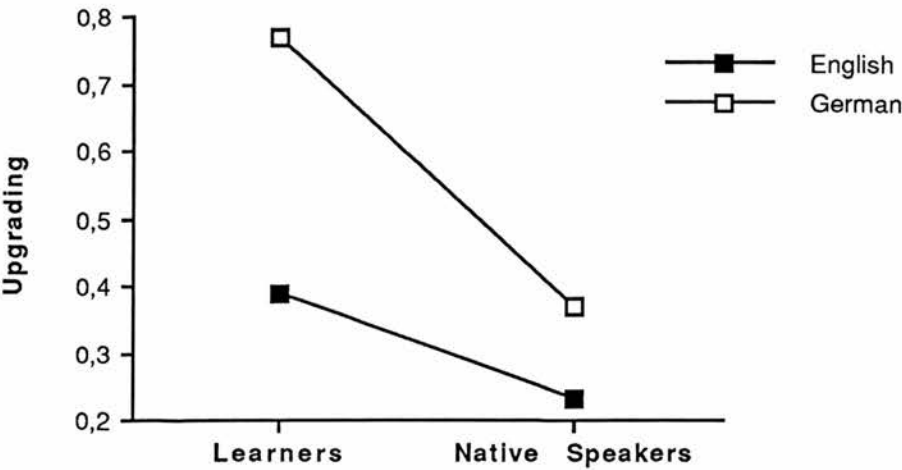


Figure 4.21.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for the Occurrence of Upgrading in Encounters (Service and Personal).

The variance for the two types of encounter shows that most upgrading occurs in non-native encounters, particularly in German. On the native speaker level, the differences between the languages are not so big.

From the analysis it can be concluded that:

1. German phatic encounters have significantly more upgrading than English encounters (0.59 vs. 0.32).
2. Learners upgrade significantly more often than native speakers in both types of encounters and in both languages (0.58 vs. 0.30).
3. Personal encounters have significantly more upgraders than service encounters in both languages and for both speaker groups (0.50 vs. 0.41).

When considering the language specific phenomena on the socio-pragmatic axis for the difference types of upgraders, the following points can be made (see Table 4.11.).

	Intensifiers		Commitment Indicators		Appealers Alerters		Time Indicators		Others	
	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.
Service Encounters	12	14	0	0	0	6	5	5	0	0
Personal Encounters	8	25	5	8	10	6	2	6	8	12

Table 4.11.: Upgraders for Different Types of Encounters for Native Speakers of English (**Eng.**) and German (**Germ.**) (in % of Occurrences).

Most upgrading for both languages occurs in the personal encounters. For English there is no clear preference for a particular type of upgrader in this type of encounter, but rather a spread over different categories: Appealing/Alerting are especially preferred in situation 20:

- (23) S20: The summerholiday is over. You are leaving for home again.
 A friend says: Cheerio then, and don't forget to keep in touch.
 -I won't, but you write too.

For German, intensifiers in personal encounters have a high score, especially in THANKING sequences and there is also some repetition within this category. Interesting to note is the high occurrence of intensifiers in German formulaic encounters (S1 and S7: 29%) and quite often (20%) they are reinforced by a repetition of the intensifier. The highest score within a single category is for 'intensifiers' when THANKING in service encounters 9 and 12.

The data for the learners take a slightly different form (see Table 4.12.).

	Intensifiers		Commitment Indicators		Appealers Alerters		Time Indicators		Others	
	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG
Service Encounters	21	45	1	0	4	9	7	14	2	5
Personal Encounters	14	43	6	2	10	9	5	9	12	20

Table 4.12.: Upgraders for Different Types of Encounters for Learners of English (ILE) and German (ILG) (in % of Occurrences).

In the English learner data the personal encounters carry most often upgraders. This is especially the case for THANKING in situation 11, closely followed by situations 16 and 17. Appealers and alerters are almost exclusively used in situations 16 and 17 in the following embedded form:

(24) S16: You have given a talk at the language school. A friend congratulates you on it: Nice talk that was.
-You really think so?

S17: You have organized a party. A friend is leaving. She says:
Thanks very much for the party.
-I hope you enjoyed yourself.

Time indicators in the personal situation 11 state a definite point in time for a next meeting. The category 'Others' within personal encounters mainly consists of lexical uptoners when complimenting on the party's nature in situation 11, as in for instance (25):

(25) S11: Thank you for a wonderful party.

Attention should be drawn to the extensive occurrence of intensifiers in service encounters (in one fifth of the utterances), especially when thanking at the station (S9) and at the box office (S12).

With the learners of German most upgrading also takes place in personal encounters (see Table 4.12.). As with the learners of English this is the case in situations 11, 16 and 17. The high-scoring category 'Others' in personal encounters contains for the most part repetitions of upgraders within an already used category.

4.2.1.4. Preference for Individual Upgraders.

The distribution of upgrading does not only vary across the languages and speaker groups, but it also varies significantly across the move and encounter types. The presence of upgraders (co-occurrences in one move included) in relation to the total number of utterances for the 4 subsamples varies from 0.28 to 0.95 for THANKING, from 0.18 to 0.62 for LEAVETAKING and from 0.57 to 1.15 for DECLINING/ACCEPTING. The subjects respond least differentially in LEAVETAKING and most in THANKING. The difference in variance is in exact accordance with the different sociopragmatic characteristics of the types of illocution, i.e. LEAVETAKING is more stereotype and formulaic, whereas THANKING is more negotiable and open to individual approaches.

In the last part of this section, I will focus on the distribution of the different categories of upgrading across the different languages, which is summarized in Figure 4.22.

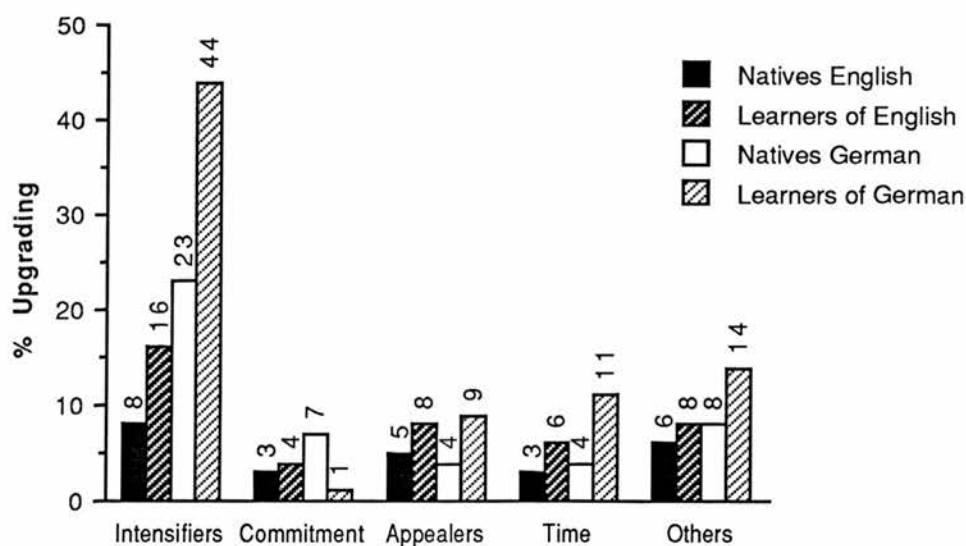


Figure 4.22.: Upgraders in Phatic Situations for the Four Language Groups (in % of Occurrence).

It is the case for all four samples that the lexical/phrasal intensifiers are the preferred category of upgraders for all the situations. The interlanguage variation can be summarized as follows: both learner groups prefer lexical/phrasal intensifiers in all the situations. In the case of accepting an offer they take the form of intensifying politeness markers (e.g. 'Yes, **please**', 'Ja, **bitte**'). The learners of English behave slightly differently with regard to lexical intensification, since they prefer to intensify their LEAVETAKING sequences by means of definite time indicators (e.g. 'See you **next week**').

A look at the individual upgraders reveals that the learner groups display interlanguage-specific preferences. In interlanguage German and English the intensifier is overused, particularly in THANKING: native German 35% vs. interlanguage German 58% and native English 14% vs. interlanguage English 24%. Apart from interlanguage specific preference, there are also preferences in accordance with the target language. Interlanguage English overuses all types of upgraders in all types of encounters, except Appealers, which occur equally often in native and learner personal encounters. But the allocation to the situation is different: learners prefer Appealers in situation 16 (thanking for the compliment) and native speakers in situations 16 and 20 (farewell). Interlanguage German also overuses all types of upgraders in all the types of encounters, except the commitment indicator or determination marker in personal encounters where the speaker is the agent of the LEAVETAKING. German native speakers use it in 8% of utterances as against 2% occurrence in interlanguage German, but this last group also uses three times as many time indicators as its native counterpart.

One way to account for this difference in use of intensifiers and commitment indicators would be to suggest that using commitment indicators efficiently requires a higher pragmalinguistic competence than the use of the often more stereotype intensifiers. The use of the short and holophrastically acquired '**Vielen Dank**', '**Danke vielmals**' oder '**Danke schön**' does not require linguistic planning. This is not the case for commitment indicators like those in the native speaker examples (26), (27) and (28):

- (26) S20: Die Ferien sind vorbei. Du fährst wieder nach Hause. Eine Freundin sagt: Wiedersehen, und vergiß nicht zu schreiben.
-Tschüß, sicher schreib ich Dir bald.
- (27) S20: -Dir bestimmt nicht.
- (28) S20: -Ja, ich schreib Dir ganz bestimmt.

Especially hazardous are these adverbs in relation to Danish 'sikker' and 'bestemt'. There is no one-to-one relationship between 'sikker' and 'sicher': the first implies 'I might write' (cf. (26)) and can only be equated with the German adverb if upgraded by 'helt'. Apart from this semantic and lexical difficulty, German extraposes and consequently triggers inversion, which occurs very seldom in Danish. In example (27) Danish does not allow ellipsis and would reinforce the negation: 'Det gør jeg bestemt **heller** ikke'. As we have seen before, learners prefer explicitness and rather avoid ellipsis. In the third example (28) Danish and German word orders are different: 'Ja, jeg skriver helt **bestemt** til dig': the adverb occupies the last slot in the German sentence.

Although the learner groups internally seem to treat phatic and non-phatic endphases more alike than the native speakers, they tend to use too many upgraders in any of the endphases in comparison with the native speakers. The concluding interlanguage observation is that on the whole interlanguage English and German overuse upgrading constantly and systematically, but German deviates from this pattern as far as commitment indicators are concerned and underuses upgraders in the formulaic encounters S1 and S7.

4.2.1.5. Summary Conclusion.

In the general analysis of the occurrence of upgrading, it was observed that German has significantly more upgrading than English in all the endphases of the corpus. In addition, learners use more upgrading than native speakers. Also, it emerged that non-phatic endphases take more upgrading than phatic endphases.

In a separate analysis of upgrading in the phatic situations, identical trends were observed for the factors Language and Speaker Group, in that German and the learners have most upgrading. It also became evident that upgrading occurs most often in THANKING sequences. Finally, on the socio-pragmatic axis, upgrading is most frequent in personal encounters.

4.2.2. Lexical/Phrasal Downgrading.

In the analysis of the data a distinction was made between lexical/phrasal downgraders and downgraders with time reference. The first category comprises lexical and syntactic downtoners, lexical apologisers and politeness markers. Lexical downtoners can take the form:

- (29) S11: You are leaving from a wonderful party at a friend's house.
 She says: It was lovely seeing you. Call again soon.
 -Oh yes I will. The next time we could go to a concert or to a ball perhaps.
 -Ich komme vielleicht bald wieder.

Syntactic downtoners can best be understood when comparing the three responses in (30) with example (31), which contains the syntactic downgrader 'möchte'. There is an increase in degree of indirectness.

- (30) S11: Du verabschiedest dich nach einem fantastischem Fest bei einer Freundin. Sie sagt: Schön, daß du da warst. Komm doch bald mal wieder vorbei.
 -Das mach ich.
 -Tu ich gerne.
 -Ja werd ich tun.
- (31) S11: -Ja das möchte ich gerne.

Lexical apologisers are for instance:

- (32) S2: Du bist bei einer Freundin zu Besuch. Du willst gerade aufbrechen, als sie fragt: Wie wäre es mit einer Tasse Tee, bevor du gehst?
 -Ich muß leider gehen. Ich habe was zu tun.

Politeness markers which have a downtoning effect are often found in situation 14:

- (33) S14: Du begegnest jemand auf einem Fest. Sie bietet dir eine Zigarette an: Zigarette?
 -Nein danke. Ich rauche nicht.

On the other hand there are time downtoners, indefinite time indicators, which make the parting less abrupt. At the same time they leave the possibility for a future encounter open without however fixing a meeting at a definite point in time as in example (34).

- (34) S11: -Ich komme vielleicht bald wieder.

4.2.2.1. General Presentation of Downgrading.

Native speakers downgrade 0.18 per utterance as opposed to the learners with 0.28. In order to investigate whether this difference in amount of upgrading is significant, an Analysis of Variance was carried out for the independent variables Language (two levels), Speaker Group (two levels) and Move (two levels). The null hypothesis takes the form:

Null Hypothesis 11: the occurrence of Downgrading is not dependent on Language, Speaker Group and/or type of Move.

On the basis of the Analysis of Variance it can be concluded that the variables Language ($F(1, 25.022)$), Speaker Group ($F(1, 46.489)$) and Move ($F(1, 465.719)$) each contribute significantly to the occurrence of downgrading. The hypothesis could have been confidently rejected, where it not that there are significant two-way interactions between on the one hand Language and Speaker Group ($F(1, 19.107)$) and on the other hand Speaker Group and type of Move ($F(1, 17.183)$). The interaction Language - Speaker Group is represented in Figure 4.23.

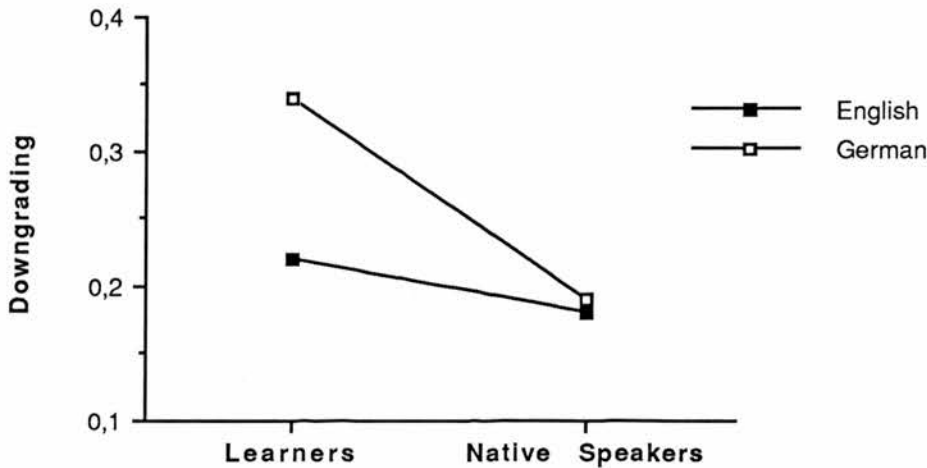


Figure 4.23.: Two-Way Interaction between Language and Speaker Group for Occurrence of Downgrading (Proportion).

From Figure 4.23. it can be concluded that German has more downgrading than English and that the native speakers in both groups almost behave identical as compared to the learners which are far apart.

The two-way interaction between Speaker Group and type of Move is illustrated in Figure 4.24.

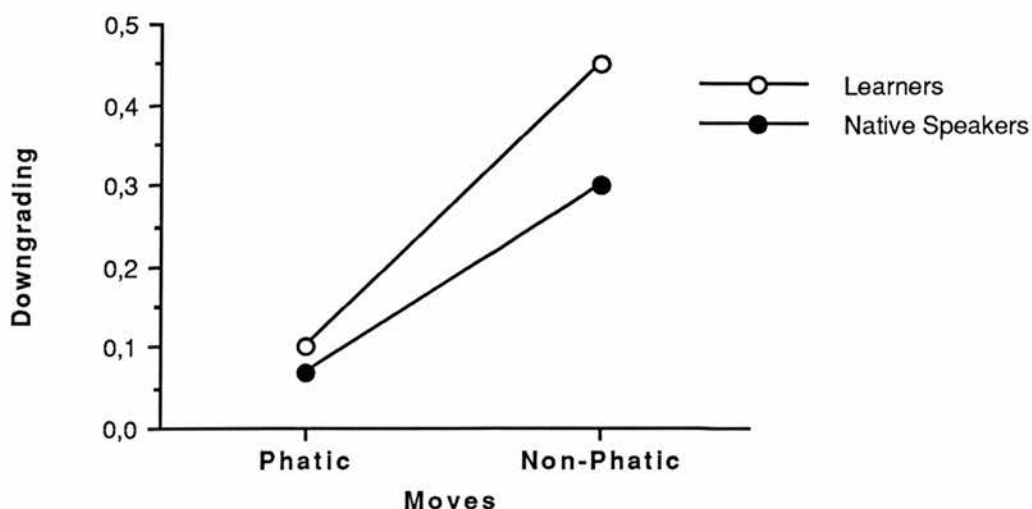


Figure 4.24.: Two-Way Interaction between Speaker Group and Type of Move for Occurrence of Downgrading (Proportion).

The interaction shows that the learners downgrade more than the native speakers. The difference is most clearly seen on the non-phatic dimension. The graphs are very closely together on the phatic dimension.

On the basis of the analysis the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. German has significantly more downgrading than English (0.27 vs. 0.20), but only so for the learners.
2. Learners downgrade significantly more often than native speakers (0.28 vs. 0.18).
3. Non-phatic endphases are significantly more often downgraded than phatic (0.38 vs. 0.09).

4.2.2.2. Downgrading and Illocutions.

It can be observed that downgrading does not occur very often in the phatic endphases. This is not very surprising, since downgraders inherently belong to the non-phatic frames. As a result, a statistical approach to the analysis of downgraders in phatic endphases is not possible, since the variance in the data is too limited. Therefore, the data for the phatic endphases will only be presented for the reader's

general orientation. The occurrence of both types of downgrading for the native speakers is set out in Figure 4.25.

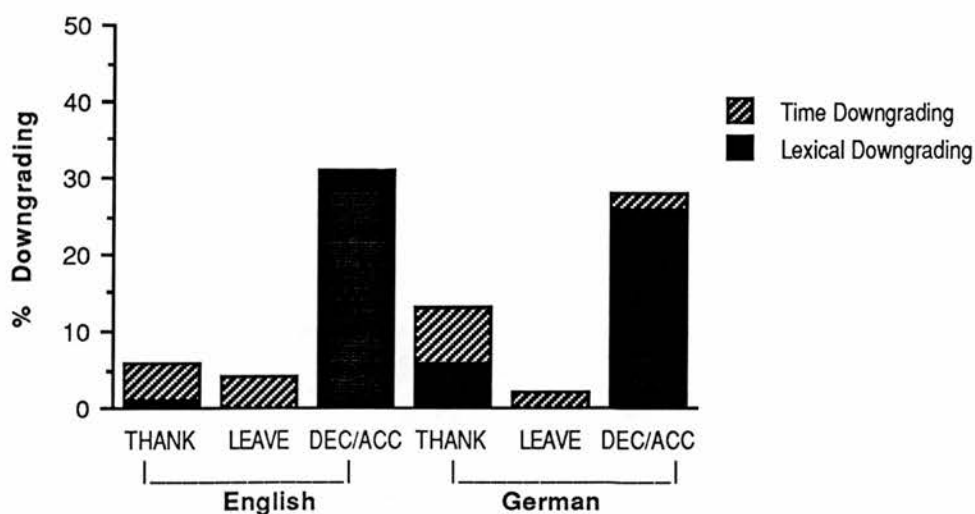


Figure 4.25.: Downgrading in Native Speaker THANKING (THANK), LEAVE-TAKING (LEAVE), DECLINING/ACCEPTING (DEC/ACC) (in %).

The Figure shows that the two types of downgrading are distributed unevenly across the types of illocutions. Most of them are lexical/phrasal when the speakers decline an offer. There are very few instances of downgrading in phatic endphases and mainly indefinite time indicators, which is in line with the characteristics of the phatic frame. Of the phatic situations, THANKING has the most downgraders for both languages and quite a few more for German (13%) than for English (6%). However, German uses fewer downgraders in LEAVETAKING and the referential moves.

The learners of English show a varied pattern for downgrading the illocutionary force of phatic and less phatic moves (see Figure 4.26.).

Most downgrading takes place in situations where an offer has to be declined and the impact of this has to be softened. There are few instances of downgrading in phatic situations and most of them are indefinite time indicators. They are most often found in THANKING sequences when invitations for new appointments are added.

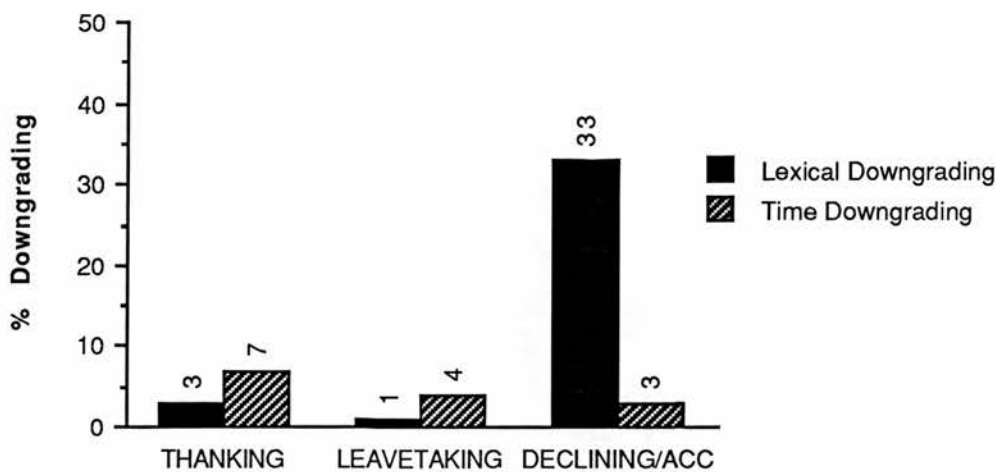


Figure 4.26.: Downgrading by the Learners of English (in %).

The learners of German have more instances of both forms of downgrading than the learners of English (see Figure 4.27.).

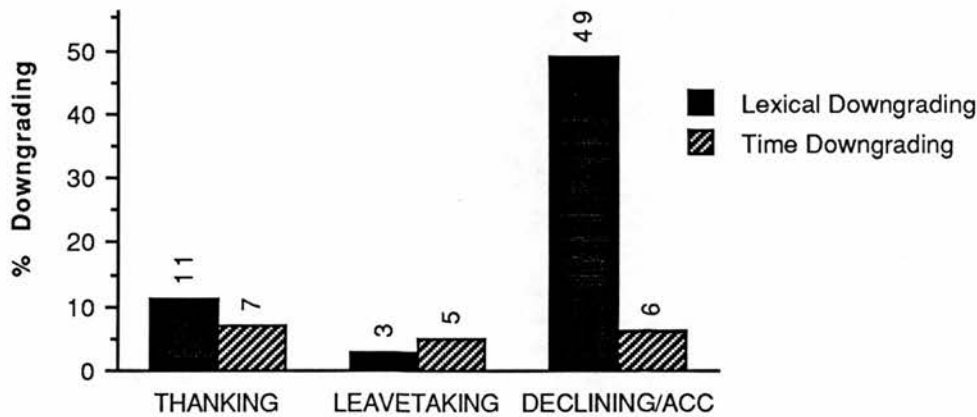


Figure 4.27.: Downgrading by the Learners of German (in %).

The distribution across the different types of illocutions takes the same form as for the learners of English. There are about four times more downgraders in the non-phatic utterances as opposed to the phatic category. About half of the utterances DECLINING or ACCEPTING an offer are downtoned, whereas indefinite time

indicators are most often used in THANKING illocutions. Of the phatic situations THANKING is most often downgraded, twice as often as with the learners of English.

4.2.2.3. Comparison of Downgrading in Phatic Situations.

A comparison of downgrading in the different languages shows a diverse pattern for the lexical downtoners and a homogeneous pattern for time downgraders (see Table 4.13.).

	Lexical N	Downtoners %	Time N	Downgraders %
Native Speaker English	2	0	32	5
Native Speakers German	23	4	31	5
Interlanguage English	13	2	42	5
Interlanguage German	59	7	49	6

Table 4.13.: Downgrading in Phatic Moves for the Entire Sample.

It can clearly be seen that the learners, especially the learners of German, largely overuse downgraders. This is not confined to the phatic situations. The same characteristic applies to the non-phatic situations. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the learners and native speakers of English downgrade in exactly the same way in LEAVETAKING sequences. Apparently, the learners of German feel more need for downgrading, especially in situations where face-threatening acts are built-in or accepting a compliment too eagerly could have a damaging effect. This is the case in the responses to situation 16:

- (35) S16: Du hast im Sprachkurs einen Vortrag gehalten. Eine Freundin gratuliert dir: Klasse Vortrag, du!
-Na ja, ging so.
-Findest du?
-Glaubst du den das?
-Meinst du wirklich?

The downgrading by means of a more or less rhetoric question may even be accompanied by a smile and puts the speaker across as unassuming and honest.

4.2.2.4. Summary of the Findings for Downgrading.

From the analyses, presented in the previous sections, it can be concluded that - in general - the amount of downgrading is the same in English and in German for the native speaker group. It is significantly different for the learner groups though, in that learners of German downgrade more often than learners of English. In addition, learners downgrade more often than native speakers. From a qualitative point of view, it is observed that the learners of German and English have the same amount of time downgrading, but the learners of German have three times more lexical/phrasal downgrading than the learners of English.

Secondly, downgrading in phatic endphases does not take the same form as in DECLINING/ACCEPTING. On the whole there is less downgrading in phatic moves, but there are more time downgraders than in DECLINING/ACCEPTING. There is also more downgrading in THANKING than in LEAVETAKING.

Finally, downgrading does not take the same form in all types of encounters. In English and interlanguage English it is mainly situated in the personal encounters, in German and interlanguage German it is found in the personal encounters in which the speaker is the recipient of the THANKING. Both learner groups tend to overuse downgraders over the entire spectrum of encounters.

4.2.2.5. Comparison of Upgrading and Downgrading.

Even though it is quite difficult to compare the mean occurrence of upgrading with mean occurrence of downgrading, since there are not so many instances of the latter due to the frame of the endphases, it might still be interesting to have a brief look at the phatic data. Two types of observations can be made: they are on the one hand language specific and on the other hand interlanguage specific (see Table 4.14. for an overview of the data).

	Upgrading		Downgrading	
	N	%	N	%
Native Speaker English	156	24	34	5
Native Speaker German	281	43	54	8
Interlanguage English	336	42	55	7
Interlanguage German	630	80	108	14

Table 4.14.: Upgrading and Downgrading in Phatic Moves for the Different Languages and Speaker Groups.

There is little downgrading in phatic endphases, but a fair amount of upgrading, i.e. about 5 times more.

German allows for more internal modification: it takes nearly twice as much upgrading and downgrading as English. Lexical/phrasal intensifiers and time downtoners are opted for most frequently. The least differential score is obtained for the LEAVETAKING sequences, in which time indicators up- or downgrading the illocutionary force of the utterance are preferred. There is one exception to the general tendency that German uses more up- and downgraders, i.e. English applies more downgraders in DECLINING/ACCEPTING than native German.

The interlanguage variations are many: the learners behave in a very diverse manner on the two dimensions both from a functional and socio-pragmatic perspective. One general interlanguage observation is that even though the phatic situations according to the native informants do not seem to require a lot of downgrading, the learners nearly double the amount. The same can be observed for the use of upgraders. When these findings are compared with the more referential situations, the picture in DECLINING/ACCEPTING is only an enlargement.

The most prominent target-language specific characteristic is that the learners of German upgrade more often, nearly twice as often as the learners of English, which is especially salient in the phatic situations.

Both learner groups overuse lexical/phrasal intensifiers throughout all the situations. Intensifiers are quite easy to insert into the utterances and are often part of a THANKING formula as e.g. 'Thank you **very much**'. For English this phenomenon of overusing is strongest in personal encounters and especially when the speaker is the agent: 6% of these utterances are intensified in English vs. 21% in interlanguage English. For native speaker German however, the largest variance is found in service encounters: 18% is intensified vs. 45% of interlanguage moves. But apart from intensifiers, interlanguage German also overuses lexical downtoners in the phatic endphases. Intergroup difference is found in the personal encounters with the speaker as agent: here German has 1% downgraders, whereas interlanguage German has 12%. In situation 16 (THANKING for a compliment) both interlanguages have exactly the same amount of downgraders, which might be an indication of the fact that the learners understand when downgrading is absolutely necessary and when it is optional.

Finally, there is one type of upgrader which is underused by the learners of German, i.e. the commitment indicator/determination marker. This is especially the case in the personal encounters where the speaker has to adopt the active role of

agent. The native speakers of German express in 18% of these encounters their sincere commitment either to comply with the invitation given in S11 or with the request to write in S20. This is opposed to only 7% of commitment indication in interlanguage German.

4.3. External Modification.

External modification is the procedure of adding a move external to the head in order to support or enhance the head act's illocutionary force. Within the frame of the encounters occurring in the Discourse Completion Task three different types of supportive moves have been distinguished. **Grounders** supply reasons, explanations, or justifications to the head as in the following example taken from the learner data:

- (36) S1: You have shown a friend the way to the local zoo. She says:
 Thanks a lot.
 -Oh it doesn't matter. I was going the same way, so I could just show it to you.

Expanders expand upon the head and supply information unasked for. Consider the following reply:

- (37) S9: You are at the station and have asked when the train to Brighton leaves. The lady behind the counter answers: It leaves at 9.25.
 -Thank you I'll just make it now.

Finally, **imposition minimizers** are hearer-oriented and most often imply an underlying reason for not being able to comply with the promise formulated in the head:

- (38) S11: You are leaving from a wonderful party at a friend's house.
 She says: It was lovely seeing you. Call again soon.
 -I have spent an-a super evening. I'd like to see you one day or the other ^ if you've got the time. Bye.

Grounders and imposition minimizers have a downgrading effect, whereas expanders upgrade the head's illocutionary force.

This section will be devoted to a qualitative analysis of external modification in relation to the two languages, the two speaker groups, the different types of

illocutions and the two types of encounter. I will not engage into a statistical analysis of the data, since the occurrence of external modification is minimal for the phatic encounters (as has been shown in 4.) and will not allow any reliable statistics.

4.3.1. General Presentation of External Modification.

The native speakers of English have supportive moves in 9% of their utterances. The native speakers of German modify 11% of their utterances externally. The distribution across the different types of supportive moves is shown in Table 4.15.

	Grounders		Expanders		Imposition Minimizers	
	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.
THANKING	0	0	1 (N=2)	0	0 (N=1)	1 (N=5)
LEAVETAKING	0	0	0	0	0	1 (N=2)
DECLINING/ACCEPTING	16	25	11	5	1	0

Table 4.15.: Supportive Moves for the Native Speakers of English (**Eng.**) and German (**Germ.**) (in % of Occurrences).

The majority of external modifiers occurs within the DECLINING/ACCEPTING situations, for which the native speakers clearly prefer grounders. There are only three instances of external modification in English phatic endphases, all situated in personal THANKING. German has a total of 7 phatic supportives, 5 of which are situated in personal THANKING and 2 in personal LEAVETAKING.

For the learners the distribution of external modification across the different illocutions can be seen in Table 4.16.

	Grounders		Expanders		Imposition Minimizers	
	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG
THANKING	1 (N=5)	0	5	1	1 (N=3)	0
LEAVETAKING	0	0	3	1	0	0
DECLINING/ACCEPTING	36	41	22	19	0 (N=1)	0 (N=1)

Table 4.16.: Occurrence of Supportive Moves with the Learners of English (ILE) and German (ILG) (in %).

The learners of English externally modify 20% of utterances. 4% of utterances contain multiple supportives. However, these 4% lie entirely outside the phatic situations. The situation type which attracts most supportive moves is DECLINING an offer, in which grounding is most favoured, followed by expanding. Only 5% of phatic moves are externally modified, preferably by means of expanders and with the most weight on the situational type of personal THANKING (S16 and 17). The expanders in LEAVETAKING S15 and S18 are very much in accord with Edmondson's social demand, 'When a free verbal good is requested, give more than is asked for!' (cf. this chapter, 1.1.), i.e. the learners expand on what they are going to do over the weekend or during their day off.

18% of interlanguage German utterances contain supportive moves. 4% contain multiple supportives. Virtually all supportives are situated within DECLINING/ACCEPTING. Only 1% (N=5) of phatic utterances is externally modified, exclusively by means of expanders in personal THANKING and LEAVETAKING.

4.3.2. Comparison of the Data for Phatic Moves.

Since virtually no external modification is used in the phatic endphases, it is hardly possible to make conclusive observations. However, on the basis of the raw data presented in Figure 4.28, some characteristics as to the variance of supportive moves can be indicated.

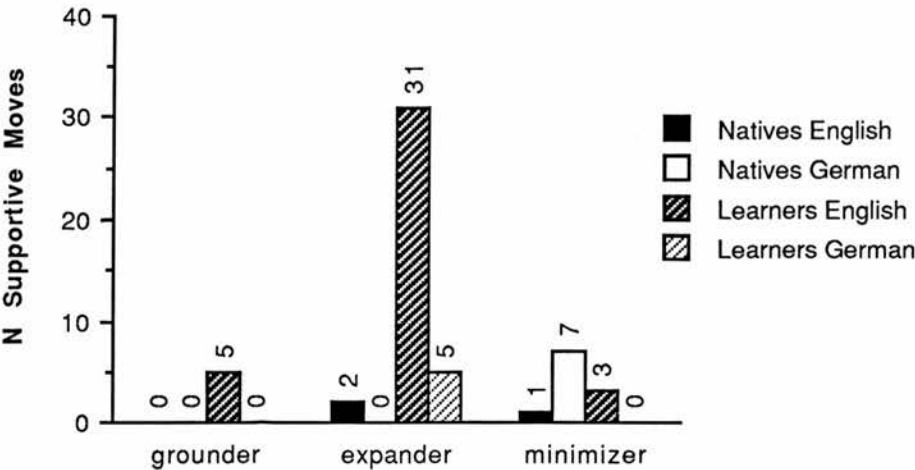


Figure 4.28.: Supportive Moves in Phatic Situations for the Different Languages and Speaker Groups (number of occurrences).

The highest number of supportive moves are used by the learners of English. This is the only language group that has all 3 types represented. With regard to the target language it can (tentatively) be concluded that the learners of English overuse external modification. This is especially the case for the expanders, which is in line with the frame of phatic encounters: expanders have an upgrading effect and can therefore be very favourably used in phatic endphases. Moreover, the extensive use of expanders also seems to be psycholinguistically justified, since they are an adequate means to ensure that as much as is required is said in as adequate a way as possible. The expander is clearly used as an upgrader in both learner English and German in the phatic situations, especially in situations 16-17 and 15-18. Some examples are given in (39).

- (39) S16: Thank you. I've really been practising.
S17: Yes it was a very nice party. I liked it too. Good bye.
S15: I will ^ I'm going to Cambridge ^ for the day.
S18: Oh thank you. and you too. Maybe I'll see you at the discotheque^
tonight.

The grounder is used by the learners of English as a downgrader when explaining why it was a pleasure to show the way (S1) or in indicating why 9.25 is a good time for catching the train (S9). It becomes clear from the above figures that grounders and imposition minimizers are not obligatory constituents of the phatic frame. However, the distribution of supportive moves in the non-phatic situations, is in line with the face requirements of the respective endphases, i.e. grounders are chosen most frequently (see Table 4.17.).

	Grounders	Expanders	Imposition Minimizers
Native Speakers of English	16	11	1
Native Speakers of German	25	5	0
Learners of English	36	22	0
Learners of German	41	19	0

Table 4.17.: Occurrence of Supportive Moves in Non-Phatic Situations (D/A) for the Entire Sample (in %).

Table 4.17. gives an insight into the already established interlanguage pattern, i.e. the learners use most modification. However, at first glance, it can be established that the two learner groups have similar counts now. Moreover, it should be pointed

out that in 10% of non-phatic endphases the learners use grounders and expanders together, for instance when giving a reason why they refuse more dessert and at the same time pointing out the positive qualities of the meal.

- (40) S8: Oh no thank I'm so full. It was delicious. Thank you very much but I can't any more.
- (41) S8: Nein danke du, sieht gut aus, aber ich hab' keine Lust.

From this brief discussion it can be concluded that there is slightly more external modification in German than in English. Interlanguage specific in this respect is the overusage of external modification especially in English, where the learners also opt for different and more diverse supportives than in German. On the functional axis it can be seen that there are virtually no supportive moves in phatic endphases. Finally, personal encounters have more external modification than service encounters.

4.4. The Relation between Internal and External Modification.

Finally, in order to pull all the previously developed strands together, I will (rather superficially) look at the dependency relation between the two dimensions of modification for the different types of illocutions. The relationship between internal and external modification in the native speaker samples is shown in Table 4.18.

	+external modification				-external modification			
	+internal		-internal		+internal		-internal	
	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.	Eng.	Germ.
PHATIC								
THANKING	0	1	1	0	31	52	58	45
LEAVETAKING	0	0	0	0	20	20	77	78
TOTAL	0	1	0	0	26	37	67	60
DECLINE/ACCEPT	21	24	4	4	47	55	28	16

Table 4.18.: Relation between Internal and External Modification for the Native Speaker Groups (in %).

About two thirds of the phatic encounters are not modified at all. This is especially prominent with LEAVETAKING in which three quarters of the sequences take no modification. The occurrences of modification are almost exclusively situated within

internal modification, a feature which is particularly strong in THANKING where one third of English and half of German phatic moves are involved.

The picture for non-phatic situations in English and German is more extreme in that about half of the moves have internal modification and a fifth take a combination of both internal and external.

It can be concluded that if phatic moves are modified it is done internally, while the non-phatic situations where face-threatening activities take place also draw on a combination of modification in both dimensions.

The language specific outcome is that German takes considerably more internal modification (one third of moves vs. one fourth for English), especially in THANKING. However, the difference between the two languages in scoring on the combination of external and internal modification in non-phatic endphases is small. The relationship between the two dimensions of modification for the learner groups is shown in Table 4.19.

	+external modification				-external modification			
	+internal		-internal		+internal		-internal	
	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG	ILE	ILG
PHATIC								
THANKING	6	1	1	0	38	71	43	0
LEAVETAKING	3	1	0	0	27	51	62	46
TOTAL	4	1	1	0	33	62	52	21
DECLINE/ACCEPT	44	46	4	4	26	45	22	6

Table 4.19.: Relationship between Internal and External Modification for Interlanguage English (ILE) and German (ILG) (in %).

The learners of English have no modification in 42% of their utterances. The learners of German seem to prefer a different dimension on the modification scale to the learners of English. In only 16% of their utterances is there no modification whatsoever.

In comparison with the native speakers it can be said that the learners are more extreme in their modification: they modify more on all dimensions but also in their case LEAVETAKING takes the least modification. THANKING sequences show a varied picture: one third of the English learner utterances vs. nearly three quarters of the German learner utterances are internally modified. The learners of English opt more for a combination of modification in phatic encounters than do the learners of German.

Nearly half of the non-phatic moves take both forms of modification in both interlanguages. Furthermore, in interlanguage German virtually all the other utterances are internally modified.

It can be concluded for the learner groups that if phatic encounters are modified the type of modification preferred is *internal*, whereas for non-phatic situations the predominant choice lies on the dimension *+internal +external*. The learner groups do agree more in this last case than in any other.

The general findings for modification for the two languages and the two speaker groups can be summarized as follows:

1. The native speakers of English seem to opt for **no modification** in the phatic endphases: two thirds of the utterances produced by this group do not contain modification, they are mainly to be situated in service encounters.
2. The learner groups overcompensate with regard to the amount of **modification** needed.
3. Both learner groups are quite extreme in their manipulation of the **non-phatic moves**, where nearly half of the proportional occurrences are with external as well as internal modification. More in particular, they seem to use the dimension *+internal +external* as a double intensifier in face-threatening situations. The native speakers are more economical and prefer internal modification in this case.
4. **Phatic moves**, if modified, take internal modification. This tendency is much stronger in native speaker and learner German than in native speaker and learner English and most apparent in THANKING and personal encounters. In these endphases the learners of English have more instances of external modification, predominantly in personal encounters, in which the speaker is the beneficiary of THANKING or LEAVETAKING.

5. A Model for Modification.

5.1. Summary of the Findings.

The main findings for modification can be summarized in terms of the four axes introduced in the beginning of this chapter.

The **cross-cultural variation** gives two major language-specific realization patterns for phatic and non-phatic moves. First, German has more modification than English, which is most prominent for the internal dimension. Secondly, German uses more upgraders and downgraders than English.

The investigation of **interlanguage variation** results in two realization patterns. In the two types of moves the learners modify more than the native speakers both internally and externally. This is especially evident in the amount of internal modification. A target-language specific observation is that learners apply more internal modification than native speakers, especially so for German. The interlanguage conclusion to be drawn is that interlanguage English approximates target language usage more than is the case for interlanguage and native speaker German.

The analysis of the **functional variables** phatic vs. non-phatic yields the following: phatic endphases have less modification than stereotype endphases that are more referential in nature. Phatic moves are preferably (and almost exclusively) internally modified; they then have a considerable amount of upgrading but very little downgrading, which is expected within a frame containing little face-threatening activity (like THANKING and LEAVETAKING). On the basis of the investigation of the different types of illocutions two major features can be seen: THANKING is more often internally modified than LEAVETAKING and within DECLINING/ACCEPTING the speakers quite substantially opt for a combination of modification on both dimensions. In interlanguage English upgraders are systematically overused, most clearly in personal THANKING. Learners of German underuse commitment indicators in LEAVETAKING.

Finally, the study of the **socio-pragmatic variation** along the lines of personal vs. service encounters results in the conclusion that most modification, internal as well as external, occurs in personal encounters, primarily when the speaker adopts the active role of agent of THANKING. Learners of English and German overuse upgrading in all types of encounters but learners of German underuse upgrading in formulaic encounters (S1 and S7).

5.2. Discussion and Conclusion.

An analysis and comparison of the modificational patterns in the four language groups has led to the assertion that the differences are primarily of a quantitative rather than a qualitative nature. This needs to be further elaborated by means of the following observations.

All the modification types used by the native speakers are also used by the learners. I would like to remind the reader that the model for modificational analysis was first developed on the basis of the native data. It was then collated with the different modifiers used in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project and finally applied to and extended by categories from the two interlanguages. The cross-analysis of the learner modifiers with the native categories has ensured that no elements, for instance unique to one or both interlanguages, were left out of the model. This correspondence between modification types suggests that the category of modification is common to all four languages (both target and interlanguage) and implies that the learners possess declarative knowledge (linguistic and socio-pragmatic) about these illocutionary force-regulating elements. The question which immediately springs to mind in this connection is: to what extent is modificational declarative knowledge language-specific? In other words: if the types of modifiers cover the same ground in the target language as in Danish, the learner will not experience any problems with them. However, if there are differences on a linguistic, semantic or socio-pragmatic level, they will have to be made explicit (conscious) in order to enable the learner to appropriately apply the elements on both modifying dimensions.

Even though the learners seem to possess declarative knowledge about modification, the frequency with which the modification types are used deviates considerably from that of native speaker usage. Upgraders and downgraders are generally overrepresented, whereas some categories are underrepresented, i.e. commitment indicators or determination markers and lexical uptoners (emotives). A closer look at the underrepresented categories reveals that beside having an illocutionary force-regulation function, they also and perhaps primarily operate on an interpersonal level.

The first underrepresented upgrader is the commitment indicator. Commitment indicators express their user's sincerity to the speaker's current contribution. An explanation for the underrepresentation of the commitment indicators in the German interlanguage data is to be situated on a syntactic level and moreover is target-language specific, since there only seem to be problems due to 'false friends'

(bestimmt-bestemt, sicher-sikker). This is not the case for English, where the indicators are adequately different in outlook and use so as not to interfere. Consequently, commitment indicators are not underrepresented in interlanguage English phatic moves.

Uptoners/emotives (not underrepresented in interlanguage German phatic moves) express their user's emotive attitude to the current state of affairs or to the speaker's contribution. It is not straightforward to find a feasible interpretation for the underrepresentation of this category, but also in this case an L1 influence might be suggested, be it pragmatic in nature. This would then be an instance of 'pragmatic interference' (Coulmas 1978). In the instances where the learners of English do not sufficiently comment on the character of the party, on how difficult it was to give the talk, or on how nice it was to get to know the interactant, absence of uptoners/emotives can be suggestive of a more unemotive, down-to-earth attitude than the native speakers'. This is a characteristic which is generally attributed to mother tongue speakers of Danish. However, a statement like this is based more on common sense than on the results of linguistic research. The subject has to be approached cautiously as indicated by Leech (1983) and can only make sense when related to pragmalinguistic strategies and the norms observed in the performance of these strategies in different speech communities:

The transfer of the norms of one community to another community may well lead to 'pragmatic failure' and to the judgement that the speaker is in some way being impolite, uncooperative, etc. But there is no absolute sense in which this can be true. (Leech 1983, 281).

Finally, it might be reasonable to assume underrepresentation for the third 'emotive' category of appealers/alerters. The fact that these two modifiers are not underrepresented in the present study is not entirely surprising since the data were elicited and, therefore, the situations are decontextualized: there exists no actual relation between the interactants which, for instance, would justify the use of christian names (an alerter). However, the deviation can also be explained by the fact that the category appealers/alerters in this study is conceived as much broader than previously (Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project, coding manual). Appealers invite the hearer directly to participate in or sympathize with the speaker's train of discourse and therefore in the present study they include all modifying elements which elicit a hearer-signal. Apart from tags, I have also tabulated the functionally identical but formally deviant embedded appealers, which play an important role in interactive endphases. In Edmondson's terminology

(1981) they would be labelled hearer-oriented TELLs. Thus, it has to be conceded that they function as head acts, which once again exemplifies the point that it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the socio-pragmatic and pragmalinguistic dimensions of language behaviour (cf. Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project, Coding Manual, Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, 275). A look at the appellers proper (tags) indeed shows that they are underrepresented in both interlanguages. As far as the alerters are concerned, they are normally defined as opening elements where they function to alert the hearer's attention to the ensuing act. Since the present data are second turns, i.e. replies, it would be unusual for alerters to occur in initial position and function to bring the interactants closer together. However, when they occur, there are clear target-language preferences: interlanguage German exclusively uses personal pronouns and titles (42), interlanguage English uses terms of endearment and titles (43).

(42) S7: Ah nichts zu danken du.

S3: Wiedersehen, Fräulein.

(43) S3: Same to you, luv.

S12: Thank you, miss.

The fact that alerters are easy to use, i.e. they require very little linguistic planning, might explain their extensive use in the learner data. In particular, the use of the emphatic pronouns in German is identical to the Danish.

Thus, not only do commitment indicators, uptoners and appellers (the underrepresented modifiers) give an insight into intra-language characteristics, but they are also illustrative of the relation between illocutionary force-regulation and face work in that they express sincerity and emotion. The same dual function has been attributed to certain types of gambits (cf. the Bochum project Kommunikative Kompetenz als realisierbares Lernziel, e.g. Edmondson et al. 1979). Because these three modifiers contribute significantly to face maintenance, they have a major sociopragmatic function. Thus, deviations have to be situated within the sociopragmatic component of declarative knowledge.

It has been hypothesized in the interlanguage literature that overrepresentation and underdifferentiation of individual language elements is a result of the presence of a restricted set of linguistic elements to choose from (Wildner-Bassett, 1984). However, in the present study, over- and underrepresentation cannot be attributed to the fact that the learners' activated repertoire of modifiers is more restricted in comparison to that of the native speakers, since they select the same range of

categories to modify their illocutions. Native speakers, however, have a broader variety within each category, whereas the learners adhere to two or three lexemes or modifiers. In the case of commitment indicators, for instance, the learners use 'sure', and 'of course' and only twice 'certainly'. This is contrasted with the native speakers, who use these indicators less, but operate a wider spectrum: 'sure', 'of course', 'certainly', 'definitely', 'absolutely', and 'no doubt' (in decreasing order). On the basis of these findings, it is possible to conclude that the learners clearly have access to the process of modification, but do not always activate the modifiers equally efficiently due to the (in)accessibility of the relevant tokens.

While the overall distribution along the spectrum of modification follows similar patterns in all languages, e.g. THANKING takes most modification, the specific proportions in the choices between one category of modification and the other are culture-specific, e.g. German takes more modification than English. This is an observation which has previously also been made for the use of direct and less direct strategies in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (Blum-Kulka and House, 1989, 133). The finding that Germans show a stronger tendency to intensify the force of their speech act in actual (complaints) or potential (requests) conflict situations (House and Kasper, 1981, 182) can now be extended to interactive endphases with even a very low degree of potential conflict (THANKING, LEAVETAKING).

Since the learners have all the native categories at their disposal, select from the appropriate category but operate on a very narrow range, the deviation is not to be situated within their procedural knowledge. The learners are indeed able to activate the appropriate underlying socio-pragmatic and functional knowledge, but the deviation is to be located in the declarative component of communicative competence: the underlying socio-pragmatic knowledge is not always appropriate and the knowledge of the linguistic elements can be improved considerably. This is clearly shown in the lack of variation in the learners' lexical choice of modifiers and their preference for undiversified 'middle-of-the-road' modifiers. The fact that the learners are aware of the modifiers being 'unprecise/inappropriate' is indirectly apparent in the concatenation of modifiers within one move and in the repetition of modifiers within the same category: it is quite dramatic in interlanguage English (for 2% of phatic and 11% of non-phatic moves), but especially salient in interlanguage German (for 9.2% of phatic and 24% of non-phatic moves). A clear example is given in (44):

- (44) S11: Du verabschiedest dich nach einem fantastischem Fest bei einer Freundin. Sie sagt: Schön, daß du da warst. Komm doch bald mal wieder vorbei.
 -Ja du, ich fand den Abend also ich fand es heute auch ganz toll.
 Ich glaub' auch daß ich bald mal wieder hier vorbei kommen werde. Mir hat es wirklich gut gefallen. Es war schön mal wieder mit dir zu reden.

In contrast, this feature is virtually non-existent in native speaker English (0.5% of phatic moves vs. 4% of non-phatic moves) and constant in German (6% in both moves). It can be hypothesized that the learners are aware of the deficit on one level (choice) and try to compensate by means of repetition and combination. This then is an indication of an overcompensation strategy being at work.

In view of these observations the argument that the learners are loquacious and suffer from verbosity has to be approached with caution. The learners seem to experience difficulties in modifying their illocutions adequately, compactly, economically and quickly. Therefore it might be hypothesized that they activate a communicative strategy to overcome this problem.

6. Summary of the Chapter on Modification.

This chapter set off with a presentation of the research questions and hypotheses along the cross-cultural, cross-linguistic, functional and socio-pragmatic axes.

First, mean utterance length and the distribution of multiple- and single-headed moves were analysed as a function of the amount of modification present. Then, the different dimensions (internal and external) and aspects (upgraders and downgraders) of modification were studied for the different subsamples.

One of the main points investigated in detail was whether the interlanguage deviation which was established on all occasions was qualitative or only quantitative in nature.

The quantitative findings can be summarized as follows:

1. **Mean Utterance Length**

Native speaker English has a higher mean utterance length than German.

The learners produce longer utterances than the native speakers.

There is virtually no difference in mean utterance length for the native speaker groups.

Non-phatic moves are longer than phatic moves.

2. **Interactional Structure**

There are more multiple heads in English than in German.

Learners have more multiple heads than native speakers.

Phatic moves have more multiple heads than non-phatic moves.

3. **Modification**

German has more modification than English, which is significant on the internal dimension.

German and English have the same amount of external modification, especially in phatic moves.

Learners have more modification than native speakers (this is especially so in German).

Non-phatic moves have more modification than phatic moves.

There is more internal than external modification.

4. **Upgrading**

German has more upgraders than English.

Learners upgrade more than native speakers.

Non-phatic moves have more upgrading than phatic moves.

5. **Downgrading**

German learners have more downgraders than English.

Learners downgrade more than native speakers.

Non-phatic moves have more downgraders than phatic moves.

This leads to the following schematic presentation for endphases:

	Mean Utterance Length	Multiple Heads	Modification	Upgrading	Downgrading
Language native speaker	Eng>Germ	Eng>Germ	Germ>Eng internal Germ=Eng external	Germ>Eng	Germ=Eng
Speaker Group	IL>NS	IL>NS	IL>NS	IL>NS	IL>NS
Move	non-phat>phat	phat>non	non>phat	non>phat	non>phat
Language	Eng>Germ	Eng>Germ	-	Germ>Eng	-
Speaker Group	IL>NS	IL>NS	-	IL>NS	-
Illocution	THANK>LEAVE	LEAVE>THANK	-	THANK>LEAVE	-
Encounter	pers>serv	pers>serv	-	pers>serv	-

Table 4. 20: Characteristics of Endphases for Different (Dependent and Independent) Variables.

CHAPTER 5

The Psycholinguistic Aspects of Modification

1. Introduction.

In the previous chapter it was established that learner deviation from the norm could be situated in the linguistic component of declarative knowledge. One way to understand the surface realizations is to account for them in terms of procedural deviations: it can be assumed that they result from differences and difficulties in syntactic and pragmatic planning. Indeed, the overgeneralization in the learner sample cannot be ascribed to flaws in the linguistic competence alone. It is also to be related to the communicative competence, i.e. the learners' pragmatic and discourse knowledge. Several studies within interlanguage pragmatics have shown that the communicative acts of fairly advanced learners often contain pragmatic errors (see especially Kasper's work and Blum-Kulka 1982, 1983). These errors have to be situated either on the level of comprehension or on the level of production of the adequate illocutionary force, including politeness value. A valuable way to account for learner-specific and language-specific pragmatic 'failures' is in terms of their underlying psycholinguistic processes. By means of this method, the above-mentioned authors have found that some of the learners' speech act behaviour results from overgeneralization or simplification of socio-pragmatic and pragmalinguistic interlanguage knowledge.

2. Method of Introspection.

The performance analysis carried out in chapter 4 incorporated relevant production features, but cannot remove the ambiguity existing between product (what can be directly observed) and process (what only can be inferred). In the search for methods which provide a more direct access to the learners' linguistic processes and underlying knowledge, researchers have found help from linguistics, sociology and psychology, the empirical methodologies of which have traditionally been a significant source of inspiration for interlanguage research. One common denominator of the methods in question is that they use the informants' own statements about the ways in which they organize and process information as their

data. Methods of this type are generally referred to as introspective methods or verbal reports.

The aim of this chapter is twofold. On the one hand, I wanted to give the learners the opportunity to reflect on phatic production and relate any observations they had. The question to be asked in this connection is: Do phatic endphases pose any procedural or declarative problems? The second aim is to investigate whether the deviations within the use of modification can be psycholinguistically motivated and, if so, what the underlying psycholinguistic processes are like. Therefore the learners were required to make observations about their own interlanguage performance. The central research question is:

Does the overrepresentation (and underrepresentation) of modification reflect an underlying psycholinguistic strategy?

I am aware of the fact that not all terms in this objective are defined operationally, but for this part of the project the aim of the investigation is exploratory and descriptive rather than hypothesis-testing.

2.1. Design.

After having taken part in the production task (see chapter 3 for a description), the learners of English and German participated in immediately consecutive introspection with their own production data as aural input. Since the subjects were not told of this second task until the production task was completed, it is unlikely to have influenced their interlanguage performance, a major point of objection to the use of retrospective data (cf. e.g. Poullisse et al. 1987, 217). As such this self-observation is partly **introspective**, since it operates on information which is still in the short-term memory due to the aural input, and it is partly **retrospective**, because it takes place after the specific language behaviour has occurred for the first time (both terms will be used indiscriminately). Self-observation not only gives data on specific language behaviour, but also offers generalized pronouncements extending beyond the observation of a given event. Thus, the informants' reflections on their own production should in the first instance give a general and broad insight into their underlying linguistic and socio-pragmatic declarative knowledge or interlanguage competence with regard to communicative endphases. Moreover, since interlanguage communicative competence also comprises the cognitive and interactional processes which the learners activate in reception and production of the foreign language, some

understanding may be achieved of the learners' socio-cultural adaptation to the target culture.

2.2. Introspection and Lower-Level Declarative Knowledge.

Because modifiers are short and conform to the conversational maxim of quantity (Be brief!), it has been suggested that their politeness function (their sole function according to Færch & Kasper 1989, 243) is implicit. Since for the most part they are routines, without any autonomous propositional meaning, native speakers are thought to activate them without much conscious attention. On this basis it has been hypothesized that 'language users are not normally able to retrospect on their production of internal modifiers' (Færch & Kasper 1989, 243). I would like to argue that modifiers are only surface realizations contributing towards the overall phatic goal and that any retrospective comment on the phatic frame in general or on its higher- and lower-order constituents can be indirectly related to them. The illocutionary force regulation is most easily described in general terms. A socio-pragmatic observation like, for instance, 'Is this answer polite enough?' incorporates lower-level constituents and can be translated as 'Are there enough politeness makers?, Should I have added politeness markers?, Is the compounded politeness adequate?', etc. Moreover, the fact that the learner participants listened to the audio-taped utterances immediately after having produced them activates their short term memories and enables them to recall information that really pertains to the problem-solving processes, about which they normally would be prevented from giving a posteriori rationalizations.

2.3. Procedure.

The introspection task the learner groups participated in is situated at the low end of the scale of structuredness. This implies that the degree of structure imposed by the data collection instrument does only to a lesser extent determine the content of the verbalization, i.e. it is left to the informants to decide what, how much, when and how they provide introspective reports (cf. Færch & Kasper 1987, 16). The task was carried out in a written form and the instructions were given in the subjects' mother-tongue Danish. For convenience, the instructions have been translated here in English:

Rewind the tape and listen again.
Which problems did occur to you while solving this task?
Explain your linguistic problems and mistakes, if any.
How did you solve these problems?
Would you choose other solutions if you had more time or could do the task once again?

The instructions were global, so that it was left to the informants to identify their own production problems and report on them. Moreover, no leading questions were asked, in order to minimize the effects of 'researcher bias' (cf. Ericsson & Simon cited in Poullisse et al. 1987, 217). These restrictions are the main reason why the task results are not ideal for hypothesis testing. As such, focus is on the strategic component of communicative competence (Canale & Swain 1980). This is the learners' ability to solve problems due to gaps in linguistic and pragmatic knowledge or to low accessibility of this knowledge (cf. Færch & Kasper 1986, 180).

The task was explained and it was also indicated by the experimenter that the subjects, after having commented on the individual situations, were welcome to provide general comments on their production or on the experiment as a whole. Many informants took the opportunity to voice additional comments; 59% of the English subjects commented quite elaborately. Slightly fewer supplementary comments were obtained for German, i.e. from 51% of the participants.

As can be seen from the instructions, no direct mention was made of modifying elements and metalanguage was avoided. The drawback of this type of non-rigidly structured retrospection is that the learners may not be able to identify (all) their linguistic problems. Moreover, they may put more emphasis on some minor details and play down some major deviations. But even though the issue remains as to how much is a description of the actual processes used and how much is post hoc inferencing, I take the comments to be a reflection of the learners' beliefs about their interlanguage system.

2.4. Method of Analysis.

There are to my knowledge no stringent classification models available for analysing multiple introspection data in second language research. Since the data output, especially on a large scale, is often difficult to control, some information might get lost when trying to make it conform to scientific schemata. A central problem in introspection methodology is that the data are verbal, which gives rise to problems in connection with validity. The researcher has to try to interpret the data's

propositional and intended meaning correctly and has to ensure that the data represent what they are intended to be a report of. But, one has to consider the cost-benefit ratio as indicated by Grotjahn:

The attempt to ensure the validity of introspective data is very often extremely time consuming and results in immense amounts of data that can hardly be evaluated in any detail (Grotjahn 1987, 70-71).

After carrying out an ad-hoc analysis of the different components of the introspection data, I have decided to settle for a qualitative type of interpretative analysis, which is quite impressionistic in nature.

3. Presentation of the Data.

The speech produced in communicative endphases is only to a certain extent the reflection of creative Chomskyan rules. The learners cannot vary their performance without limit. The linguistic and situational contexts largely determine the form of the actual language material to be produced, i.e. formulaic expressions, which is the reason why all the situations will be treated together and no distinction will be made between phatic moves on the one hand and non-phatic moves on the other. Striking features on this level will only be referred to in passing.

In the analysis, a distinction will be made between comments on linguistic rules and processes, and those on socio-pragmatic rules and processes. The issues will be exemplified by means of a representative selection of the data.

3.1. Linguistic Knowledge.

The learners' self-observations on linguistic knowledge were largely confined to self-evaluation on a lexical and supra-segmental level. Since suprasegmental aspects are beyond the scope of this work, these data will not be included here. The lexical criticism can be divided into comments about lexical/idiomatic deviations and deficits, and indications of transfer. Again this last element will not be dealt with in the present discussion. Suffice it to point out that the learners most often addressed this problem with respect to idiomatic and formulaic THANKING sequences. In Danish, THANKING takes an object (noun or pronoun); the learners transferred this structure into, for instance, (1) and (2):

- (1) S9: Thanks for the information.
 Vielen Dank für die Information.
 (Danish equivalent: 'Tak for informationen').
- (2) S20: Thank you very much for this time.
 S17: Ja und danke, daß du gekommen bist.
 (Danish equivalents: 'Mange tak for denne gang' and 'Tak for at du kom').

Two final examples: the learners of German regularly included 'sonst vielen Dank' (instead of 'nein, danke'), equivalent to Danish 'ellers tak', and 'wir sehen uns', a literal translation of the greeting formula 'vi ses'.

In the following discussion, I will treat lexical and idiomatic (formulaic) deficiencies in separate sections. This is a slightly artificial distinction, since an overlap between the two types cannot be avoided.

3.1.1. Lexical Deficiencies.

A first problem area regards the lack of a particular lexical item. The learners predominantly experienced lexical problems whenever they wanted to use an idiom, especially in the longer personal encounters. It was explicitly stated which lexemes they did not know; they are quite often situated in the supportive part of non-phatic moves and range from everyday words as 'mæt' (full) to topically used 'penalhus' (pencil case) and idiomatic expressions as 'slanke linie' (watching your weight). Moreover, the subjects indicated how they tried to get round these deficits by using alternative words or expressions. This strategy is reflected in the data in nervous giggles, hesitations, filled or unfilled pauses, drawls, gambits, repetitions, false starts and implicit or explicit appeals for help of the kind 'what's the word for x again' and 'I don't know the word for x'. In their retrospection the learners also suggested corrective alternatives as:

- (3) I should not have said: 'on a diet', but: 'I have to hold the slim line'.*

* As outlined above, the introspection was carried out in the learners' mother-tongue. The examples cited in the discussion are excerpts of their translated reactions.

The learners often encountered problems when they wanted to enhance the move's illocutionary force. This is, among others, due to the fact that compounds in Danish are an inherent part of the creative morphological process (this is also the case in German and Dutch). An example is 'stopmæt' ('stopfull'). The equivalent the learners came up with in English, was 'very or absolutely full', which they did not regard as carrying the same connotations or illocutionary force as the Danish word. In this connection they stressed that they did not constantly want to revert to a modification with 'very'.

A second major area of deviation can be labelled 'fear of inaccessibility of lexical items'. Very often the learners expressed doubt about the correctness of an expression used in the production task as, for instance, in the next example:

- (4) 'I'm stuffed': is this the right expression?

Vertical (or echo) structures were often used, but the learners were not sure about their correctness, since they were unfamiliar with them.

- (5) I wasn't sure whether I should have answered with 'cheerio', but I decided against it because I thought that one normally has to say 'bye-bye'.

The learners were generally uncertain about their linguistic accuracy, particularly in personal encounters like situation 16, in which the speaker has to react to a compliment (see reaction (6)):

- (6) I suppose this is linguistically correct (?).

Among the students of German, there exists quite a high degree of error-awareness (morphological as well as grammatical): they extensively proposed alternative idioms and expressed the need for more modifiers. According to them, utterances should be further modified by adding a supportive head of GREETING or COMMITMENT (making a future appointment) to the act of THANKING. Moreover they suggested more than ten alternative internal modifiers to be added in different combinations (7):

- (7) leider, wirklich, sehr, ich bin wirklich völlig satt, wirklich toll, einfach super, sehr nett, bitte sehr, danke sehr, etc.

Whenever the English speakers introspected on their modification, they nearly always referred to improving internal modification by means of adding a politeness formula like 'thanks', 'please'.

Thus, the linguistic deficits can be summarized as lack of individual items, doubt about the collocations used and fear or uncertainty about items not readily available.

3.1.2. Formulaic Deficiencies.

Many informants explicitly mentioned the lack of phatic politeness formulae. They related obvious deficits in their target language to their mother tongue. Frequently recurring observations in this connection are found in extracts (8) and (9).

(8) I couldn't remember the equivalent expression of the Danish ...

(9) Some Danish expressions are not found in English, which is a considerable problem.

The deficits most often occurred in the form of reciprocating items as in example (10), in which case the learner could not realize 'that's all right' or 'you're welcome' and in (11) where they did not know 'you too':

(10) -How do you say 'det var så lidt'? (in English)
-I cannot remember what 'det var så lidt' is in German. Is it perhaps 'bitte sehr'?

(11) -I cannot remember how to say 'tak i lige måde'.

Activating the standard formulae for THANKING and LEAVETAKING in service-encounters seemed problematic for a considerable number of learners, for which two immediate reasons come to the fore. Firstly, the learners feared that a reply which resembled the Danish was too straightforward and incorrect. They came up with comments as (12):

(12) This phrase was directly translated from Danish.

Moreover, they believed that a short answer does not conform to the English context as in (13):

(13) In this case it is probably not sufficient to say 'thank you' or is it? I do not seem to have access to the suitable expressions.

Secondly, there was considerable uncertainty as to how they have to copy the multi-stranded LEAVETAKING ritual common in Danish. Compare the extracts (14) and (15):

- (14) The standardized expressions one uses are difficult to translate into English directly and one therefore has to find another way of expressing them.
- (15) The problem with all the responses is that one does not know what is customary to say. The different situations one therefore translates directly from what one would have liked to say in Danish.

In Danish, modification within the phatic endphase is common practice. The most common Danish formula when parting after a party 'tak for i aften' (literally: thank you for this evening), can be upgraded by, among others, 'dejlig' ('thanks for a **nice** evening'), 'mange' ('thanks **a lot** for this evening') and 'tusind' ('**thousand times** thanks for this evening'). In situation 11 the learners try to get this message across in their interlanguage in different ways:

- (16) Thanks for tonight.
 Thank you (...) It was a very nice evening.
 I enjoyed this evening.
 Thank you for a lovely night.

It is interesting to note that the language users do not translate the numerical upgrader 'tusind'. Intuitively, they might feel that whatever the corresponding item is in English, it cannot be translated with 'thousand'. Thus, it can be observed that they have grasped the dictionary meaning and 'translatability' of the items in formulaic utterances in a negative way as the rule: Don't translate this item! Still, there is a step missing towards producing the corresponding formula in the target-language 'thanks a million'. In THANKING moves, it can be observed that native speakers either express gratitude or reciprocate THANKING. The learners preferably combine both in order 'to be on the safe side', as they express it in the retrospection. But there is also insecurity within the field of reciprocity:

- (17) What does one say in English if one is being thanked by someone else?

Apart from being able to point out problems they experienced with the target-language, the learners generally also established a link with the source-language as in (18). Moreover, as with other lexical items, they often repaired their answers during the retrospection phase as in example (19) concerning the service encounter 'at the box office'.

(18) 'You too?' is this Danish or can it be used and how about 'the same for you?'

(19) 'Danke sehr' on its own would suffice.

The learners proposed alternative and additional politeness formulae, sometimes extending the acceptability boundaries, due to their socio-pragmatic insecurity. It is a general tendency in the introspection that 'Danke' or 'thanks' are added to the replies given in the service encounters. One subject is an exception to this rule, she says:

(20) I should possibly have added 'danke', but I was afraid to use it too often, since we Danes thank a lot.

However, routines expressing gratitude seem to cause other problems as well. Even though the native speakers do not differentiate between the different formulae, the learners do and attribute increasing illocutionary force to 'danke', 'danke schön', 'vielen Dank' as can be seen in extracts (21) and (22):

(21) S12: It should have been 'danke schön' instead of 'danke'.

(22) S9: I now believe that I should have answered with 'vielen dank' instead of 'danke schön'.

The politeness formulae which were suggested to be added to the replies given and formulae provided in the production task are enumerated for German in (23) and for English in (24):

(23) bitte (sehr)/(schön), danke (sehr)/(schön), vielen Dank

(24) thank you (very much), thanks (a lot)

In quite a few German cases 'danke' is proposed, where it should have been 'bitte' ('please'), a politeness marker unknown in Danish (cf. Færch & Kasper 1989, 233).

The fact that the learners particularly propose to add politeness markers in different degrees or additional heads pursuing the same aim within the already existing moves shows that they want to make their message as clear and transparent as possible. This finding is in line with previous studies (Blum-Kulka & Levenston 1987 and Færch & Kasper 1989), in which it was concluded that language learners tend to adhere to the principle of clarity, using explicit, unambiguous means of expression, rather than opting for implicit and unambiguous realizations. Politeness markers fulfil a double function: they are illocutionary force enhancers (or mitigators), but they also function on the socio-pragmatic level of politeness. A similar function is fulfilled by the additional heads. They implicitly enhance the preceding illocutionary force, carrying an illocutionary force of their own and moreover they attend to the socio-pragmatic needs of the situation. An example of a THANKING move with different heads and politeness markers, to which the last paraphrastic head has been suggested as an improvement is given in (25).

- (25) S11: You are leaving from a wonderful party at a friend's house. She says:
 It was lovely seeing you. Call again soon.
 -Oh thanks. The same to you. I'll call you soon. And thank you for the wonderful party.

ANALYSIS: Oh thanks.

THANKS
 (emotive)

The same to you.
 RECIPROCATE

I'll call you soon.
 WILL
 (indefinite time modifier)

And thank you for the wonderful party.
 THANKS
 (paraphrase - uptoner)

This last aspect of politeness formulae and multiple heads directly leads to the findings on the learners' socio-pragmatic knowledge.

3.2. Socio-Pragmatic Knowledge.

It has been suggested that phatic communion can only be acquired successfully in a naturalistic setting as it consists of formulaic expressions linked to highly pragmatic and culturally determined politeness. In their retrospection, the

learners focus on both the universal pragmatic character of politeness and on the target-specificity. In extract (26) the learner has recognised that the socio-pragmatic aspects of the target-culture deviate from the source-culture:

- (26) How does one behave politely in English?

It can be observed that the learners display a great deal of insecurity about whether their replies are appropriate in the given situations, either because of inexperience with the target-culture at large, or the pragmatic rules in particular. Statements such as 'I am very (too) insecure' are often found. A selection of comments:

- (27) It is slightly difficult to improvise and make it sound natural, since in daily life I have *never tried to use* everyday (polite) expressions in English.
- (28) Is it *impolite* to say: 'No, I'm not at all sure' in sit. 6 when refusing a drink?
- (29) *What does one say?* 'The next will be on me' or does one start to discuss the situation?
- (30) In the instances where I did not write anything, I would *probably* say the same again but *maybe* a bit more polite!
- (31) *Am I too polite* when saying in sit. 8 'really I liked it, but I'm all finished. I can't eat anymore but thanks'?

The learners' awareness of problem-areas is particularly orientated towards the appropriateness of language behaviour in varying situational types, social configurations and, closely connected with this, the level of register to be used.

3.2.1. Situational Behaviour.

A number of learners felt they lacked the ingredients for a particular type of situational behaviour as indicated in extract (32):

- (32) What does one answer in a situation like number 3 (leaving the butchers')?

More in particular they lack the knowledge to reciprocate parting formulae.

A more general, but similar, comment on situational behaviour is found in (33):

- (33) I'm normally quite good at German, but I feel totally lost in these everyday situations.

The use of interactional language in service and especially personal encounters is often related to the learners' language-training. Remarks in this connection are many. In the following extracts a selection is presented (the main topic in each comment is italicized):

- (34) In most instances I would have said something else or more, if I had had more time to think, also because these situations are actually quite *unusual*; they don't occur in our teaching.
- (35) My speech is quite stereotypical and boring. Moreover, we are not used to expressing ourselves in English, since we unfortunately enough *do not have much oral* training.
- (36) The situations are natural, but one just needs time to adapt to them. Furthermore, it is necessary to use a kind of *conversational* talk, *small-talk*, normal *everyday* formulae, etc. which we are trained least in at this school. I myself used some very few phrases over and over again.
- (37) 'Don't' is spoken language, 'do not' is slightly impolite in conversational speech, and is a witness of *too much written* work at school.
- (38) If you are *not familiar* with German-speaking *society*, these situations are very unusual, especially because they do not occur in our teaching. Therefore, I felt slightly lost.
- (39) I have tremendous problems with this *everyday language*. It would probably improve, if I could watch German *television*.

In summary, the informants either focus on the teaching content or on the teaching mode. Obviously, statements such as these illustrate that there is still a lot of work to be undertaken in the area of conversational or communicative language teaching. If we look at both types of move, two main points arise. Generally speaking, the learners feel that the aspect of THANKING is not being addressed sufficiently. It is either mentioned as a repair or a lack of linguistic competence as is the case in the following comments:

- (40) I should have introduced this sentence with 'thanks' (sit. 18).

- (41) I should also have thanked for the offer (sit. 6).
- (42) I do not know very many expressions for gratitude, thanks and other everyday expressions.
- (43) I would like to express my gratitude concerning the butcher's interest, however I do not know so many different expressions.

An instance of socio-pragmatic complexity on a personal and service level can be found in the LEAVETAKING moves. Here the learners insist on and retrospect on reciprocating the LEAVETAKING formulae in the form of 'the same to you' or 'du auch'/'gleichfalls', whereas the native speakers in their production focus on formulaic, redressive THANKING. The reason why the learners do this is to be found in their mother tongue, i.e. this form is compulsory in Danish ('i lige måde') and causes problems when they do not directly have access to it.

3.2.2. Politeness and Face in Different Social Configurations.

The students view politeness as especially problematic and express the fear of not being polite enough and maybe even rude. Consider the following comments:

- (44) On the whole it is difficult to remember the correct politeness forms.
- (45) My answers to some of the situations became not as polite as they should have been.

There is an awareness that politeness is to be situated on a different level in English and German compared to Danish. Politeness and register, exemplified in aspects of formality, constitute the required (socio-)pragmatic knowledge. It is especially here that a major threat to the interactant's face can take place and, as pointed out before, the danger for face-loss is considerable. The fact that so much attention is paid to this topic, reflects an actual need in reality and indicates that it is a very problematic area, as has been shown in previous studies:

We therefore believe that pragmatic flaws are potentially more threatening for the learner's face as a communicator in general, independently of whether he communicates by means of his native or a foreign language, than are grammatical, lexical and propositional flaws (Færch & Kasper 1982, 98).

The level of politeness chosen is related to the social status of the interactants and correlated with the linguistic requirements in the target-language, or as one learner expresses it:

- (46) If I had been creative today, I would have created a conversation in those situations where friends or acquaintances are involved. Whereas, in the situations with incidental acquaintances (e.g. the doctor) one probably will not have long conversations unless one has a very open and extrovert personality.

Politeness phenomena are discussed from two points of view: linguistically (see this chapter 3.1.) and socially, i.e. the effect the phenomenon has on other people, especially native speakers. The social effect of the pragmatic flaws is, among others, expressed in the following ways:

- (47) In sit. 11, I did not express the fact that the party was good.
This must make a slightly flat impression for the hostess.
- (48) I should have praised the nice meal.
- (49) I should probably have added that I wanted to pay for the drink the next time.

In order to live up to the social politeness demands, the learners mainly concentrate on alter-protective needs. Most suggestions are directed towards adding supportive moves or additional heads, which aim at attending to the interactant's positive face. This implies that the learners would want to organize their communicative behaviour according to a vital constituent of politeness, the hearer-supportive maxim, which has been glossed by Edmondson (1981) as 'Support your hearer's costs and benefits, suppress your own'. In all these comments, the subjects are concerned about the absence of other-orientedness in their speech but, if we take a closer look at the orientation of the moves (see chapter 3 (8.4.) for coding procedures), we find that native speakers have less other-orientation than the learners. Again it can be concluded that even though the learners have the same distribution across the categories self-and other-orientation as compared to the native speakers, they overrepresent (or overuse) the linguistic items aimed at. Moreover, there are language-specific features: English requires other-orientation in phatic moves, whereas German in both phatic and non-phatic endphases takes self-oriented items. In both languages self-orientation by means of subjectivizers is compulsory within supportives for a move in which an offer is declined.

Another main issue is the fact that the subjects are socio-culturally insecure, especially as to what English culture is like. They attempt to relate it to their own culture and other cultural experiences they may have had :

- (5 0) I've never been in England. What does one say? (sit. 19 : the doctor's)
- (5 1) Do English people get cross, if one does not take food twice?
- (5 2) How does one have to react to sit. 16 (giving a talk)?
- (5 3) One of the biggest problems is to know what to answer if something is being offered or someone thanks you for an offer being made. What is the English mentality like? If one for instance declines an offer, do they then get cross, or what? For instance if a friend pays a first drink, does one then accept or does one propose to pay for the second one, like here in Denmark? (In France a boy will become very cross if one even takes money along to pay for one's own part of the meal, if he has invited you).

Finally, politeness is also very often associated with the length of the utterances: the informants do not feel at ease when using short stereotype formulae, which are apparently appropriate to the situation:

- (5 4) My answers are generally too short. Politeness rules are generally followed, but the answers don't sound friendly. It is difficult to move out of the strict traditional politeness formulae and put some genuine meaning in the answers.

The level of formality is sometimes also associated with the length of the utterances and its influence on the hearer and on the speaker herself.

- (5 5) My answers are too short. They would nearly give offence if they took place in real life.
- (5 6) My 'problem' consisted especially of the fact that I felt it was wrong to answer just with one word.

The length of the utterances is also seen as related to the social status of the interactants and thus allocated to the difference between service-encounters and personal-encounters.

- (57) I would in some instances have said less, especially in the shop, to the teacher, etc.

In some situations the length of the utterances is related to the type of move, the type of encounter and personal choice:

- (58) Common to all the situations is that there are plenty of choices. Of course, one can, if one wishes, engage oneself deeply and use all these situations as a basis for longer conversations, which surpasses the purely conversational. But, as I have chosen to do, there is also the possibility of considering these in reality short 'confrontations' as nothing but an exchange of politeness formulae (of course there is a difference between talking with a friend or a lady behind the counter). One's temperament comes into play quite considerably as to for instance how much one wants to involve oneself.

The length of the responses has according to some students been determined by the experimental set-up:

- (59) My answers are very short. If I had had more time or had heard the situations twice, i.e. been prepared, I would have elaborated the answers.

But then, again, even in naturally occurring face-to-face interaction one can never autonomously extend the time for thinking up a reply nor can one prepare an answer beforehand.

3.2.3. Politeness and Register.

The level of formality to be chosen is connected with the type of encounter the learners are confronted with. It poses problems of choice of pronoun (in German only) and choice of formulae and routines. The questions to be addressed are: how much are politeness formulae or routines embodied in the reply sequence and how much face-work is being undertaken? When the learners aim at a middle-class adult way of expressing themselves (which is textbook-taught), this involves activating upgrading by means of lexical/phrasal upgraders and/or supportives providing compliments or reasons for refusal.

In some instances the selection of lexical/phrasal items is linked to the difference between the use of 'standard' and 'substandard' language. The alternatives (repairs) are however not always equally successful.

- (60) It is probably slightly slang to say 'I'm full'. I would finish by saying 'It looks good, though'.
- (61) I have known someone who said 'I'm full' but this person spoke substandard. Maybe one should say: 'It was lovely, but I couldn't eat another bite'.
- (62) Generally the problem is to find the right word for the appropriate situation. This is mostly the case in situations where one would say 'i lige måde' and where a positive answer is to be given. This is especially difficult, since English and American people have collocations which they use in their slang. This very often gives the impression that they are automatically swinging a cliché out. I often feel quite stupid if I just can't remember on the spot how to formulate my response.

Comments on the difference between American and British English also fit in this context :

- (63) 'Go ahead' is probably mostly an American expression, but it is this one one most often hears and therefore occurs most rapidly to one.
- (64) Because it is mostly American English one hears in everyday life, one quite spontaneously remembers and uses the American politeness formulae.

3.2.4. Level of Formality.

Striking the correct level of formality seems to be a main problem for the learners of German, an issue which is situated at a higher-order personal management level. The learners express their anxiety in different ways, for instance, in relation to their conceptualization of German 'adult'-culture and youth-culture, an example of which is given in (65):

- (65) It is difficult to assess the situations' formal character. I have read so many things about Germans being formal. Every coursebook has something to say on the matter. My answers therefore tend to be standard solutions. However, I am not at all sure whether young Germans would use them in their everyday language.

4. Discussion.

4.1. An Interlanguage Principle.

The data of the verbal reports provided by the learners in the retrospection on their own production data can be categorized as issues regarding cognitive lower-level linguistic and cognitive higher-level socio-pragmatic items. The linguistic and pragmatic elements as outlined above can be regarded as surface realizations of underlying competence. Lack of linguistic and cultural routines within linguistic and socio-pragmatic competence activates communicative strategies in order to adhere to the rules of politeness and face-saving. In the production data, this cognitive problem-solving activity is linguistically accompanied by discourse-internal lubricants, hesitations, implicit problem indicators and the like. In the introspection phase it comes to the fore in questions addressing socio-pragmatic and lexical problems like: how does one behave politely and which words does one use to obtain this goal?

Two areas feature predominantly in the introspection. First, the informants commented on their linguistic insecurity regarding lexical modification and the use of appropriate lexis in general. These comments were aligned to pragmatic appropriateness within the given culture. Secondly, the pragmatic field was subdivided into two major areas: politeness phenomena with the related feature of 'face', and register with the level of formality to be addressed separately.

On the basis of an interpretative analysis of the verbal data, different problem areas for the two language groups have been distinguished. The learners of English are mainly concerned about the socio-pragmatic aspects of their production and address the question of positive/negative face and cultural appropriateness. Their basic self-criticism is that they are not polite enough. In order to ensure politeness and live up to the native demands they express the need to either add new propositional contents, i.e. additional heads or supportive moves to the head act, or to use more politeness formulae like 'thanks', 'please', etc. In doing so, they will

reinforce the illocutionary force of the act and thus hope to be regarded as more native-like. The anxiety of the learners of English seems to be mainly situated at a higher-order frame level and has repercussions for the use and occurrence of lower-level constituents.

The situation is quite different for the learners of German. They address the problem of linguistic (and not socio-pragmatic) appropriateness on the formality-informality level and express a high degree of (not always justified) error-awareness on a morphological as well as grammatical level. They are less insecure about elements to be corrected, which also can be derived from the fact that they propose alternative idioms to be used and express the need for more extensive lexical modification for which they suggest more than ten alternatives in different combinations. The learners of German are mainly concerned with lower-level frame constituents pertaining to their declarative knowledge.

Up to now, the most obvious conclusion from the introspection data is that the difference in performance between the non-native speakers of English and German is confirmed at a cognitive level. Generally, a fundamental aspect of the data provided by both groups of learners can be summarized as the 'more' is being said, either by means of repetition, or by means of external and internal modification, the more chance there is that native-like performance is approached. For the learners of English this principle can be glossed as 'the **more** I say, the more readily I will be accepted as a competent (i.e. polite) member of the target **society**'. For the learners of German this principle takes the form: 'the more **precisely** I express myself, the more closely I **approximate** the target language'. In summary, the English deficits can mainly be situated at a higher-order frame level and are also procedural in nature, i.e. the learners are anxious about being socio-pragmatically appropriate by activating the right politeness formulae etc. in the right situations. The learners of German express a more clearly declarative deficit, i.e. they wish to use more lower-level constituents. Their way of addressing the issue of politeness in the target-language is in terms of the dichotomy formality-informality, which is situated at the level of interpersonal management. A tentative conclusion arising from this observation is that the learners of German, in trying to overcome lower-level declarative obstacles, are to be situated at an earlier stage in their interlanguage development than the learners of English, who perceive complications at a higher processing level.

When correlating the linguistic findings from the production task with the psycholinguistic introspection data, it is found that the urge to say more than

required can be identified as an overcompensation strategy. The present data give an insight into the underlying psycholinguistic factors of this strategy, which is based on unfamiliarity with linguistic and socio-pragmatic factors and anxiety about an appropriate performance in the target-language. Thus, it can be concluded from the data that the learners at this stage of their interlanguage development implement a playing-it-safe strategy by observing the principles of clarity and quantity (politeness). In other words, their strategic interlanguage competence takes the form: 'Be more **precise**' (learners of German) and 'Be more **polite**' (learners of English).

The interlanguage principle "the more the better" has also been found in studies within other areas of interlanguage use, i.e. request realizations (Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project) and referential compensatory strategies (Bongaerts et al. 1987). Even though the results in phatic endphases are slightly more complicated, it is reasonable to conclude with Færch and Kasper that these results from different areas of interlanguage use 'suggest a universal trend for language learners to observe the principle - "the more the better" - as an implementation of a playing-it-safe strategy' (Færch & Kasper 1989, 245).

5. Summary.

In this chapter the method of introspection (or retrospection) was introduced as an instrument for collecting psycholinguistic evidence for the linguistic and cognitive processes involved in phatic endphases.

The introspection data provide an insight into lower-level declarative and higher-level declarative and procedural problems which the learner groups seem to encounter in phatic endphases.

Moreover, the overrepresentation of modification which was established in the production data seems to reflect an underlying psycholinguistic strategy.

CHAPTER 6

Summary and Conclusions

1. Introduction.

In the last chapter of this thesis, I will first summarize the main content and conclusions chapter by chapter, before drawing any general conclusions and presenting further questions to be looked into.

2. Phatic Communion.

The first chapter focused on providing an in-depth analysis of the phatic function of language use and defining the type of speech traditionally connected with it, i.e. phatic communion.

Traditionally, the main aim of phatic communion is defined as establishing ties of union by exchanging words. Linguistically, phatic communion can be labelled and explained as a transitory stage in interaction in which the main importance is not **what** is said, but the fact **that** something is said and **the way** in which it is said. Thus, the emphasis lies on the channel, the addresser and the addressee of the communicative act. The affinity between the phatic function on the one hand, and the conative and emotive functions on the other, can be captured under the heading of 'interpersonal function'. This function represents a relationship of communicative management between the addresser and addressee aiming at keeping open the physical and psychological channel between the interactants in an encounter.

The words exchanged do not necessarily carry the meaning which is 'symbolically' theirs, i.e. they are not necessarily referential (cf. Malinowski's quotation under 4.1.3.), but they mainly fulfil a social indexical function. They linguistically bind the interactants together for the duration of the interaction (but possibly also beyond) by disclosing and keeping away information about the language users.

A distinction was made between two types of phatic communion: phatic talk and small talk. Phatic talk is the generally short and transitional type of phatic communion situated in the marginal phases of interaction and as such it is opposed to small talk occurring in the core phase. Apart from the divergent social impact, both forms have a different topic structure and underly different topic selection

rules. On the surface, phatic talk is more formulaic and more easily predictable than small talk.

3. The Phatic Frame.

In the second chapter a cognitive content for phatic communion within a frame-theory approach was provided. More precisely, a frame was drawn up for phatic talk in the marginal phases of face-to-face interaction. A distinction was made between higher-order frames mainly including declarative knowledge ('know what') about socio-cultural interpersonal management and situational aspects and lower-order frames containing information about linguistic elements and rules, verbal acts and their discourse management. Moreover, procedural knowledge ('know how'), containing the retrieval procedures for declarative knowledge was touched upon. In the discussion, links were established between the different cognitive levels and their constituents. In a simplified way, this represents the way in which the language user has to interrelate the different units. Lower-order verbal conversational routines were analysed as realizations of, among others, higher-order culturally embedded politeness phenomena and higher-level interpersonal management was seen as reflected in lower-level discourse management of verbal and non-verbal tokens.

Successful phatic communion was then defined as a linguistic routine obeying the complex politeness strategy 'Be supportive!', which heavily relies on interpersonal management. This strategy is closely related to the two rules of pragmatic competence Be clear and Be polite, the last of which often overrides the Cooperative Principle.

4. Modificatory Aspects of Phatic Endphases.

The first two chapters provided the background setting for the practical work undertaken on phatic and pre-patterned endphases. These endphases can be characterized by the fact that they are identity- and hearer-oriented. Thus, the tokens exchanged in them perform an important indexical and interpersonal function. The interpersonal function is not easily learned (nor acquired), which becomes apparent in the presence or absence (or distortion) of tokens supporting this function. The tokens concentrated upon in this study are modifiers.

In the third chapter, the instrument for data collection and the model of analysis were presented.

4.1. Research Paradigm.

For this project a mixed research paradigm, consisting of pure qualitative and pure hypothetical-deductive elements, was used (cf. Grotjahn 1987 for an in-depth discussion of different methodological paradigms).

For the first part of this study the approach is experimental: the language material (produced by native speakers and learners) was collected in a language laboratory with the specific aim of using it for hypothesis-testing. And even though it was aimed to imitate the natural interactional situation as closely as possible, the data are to be approached with this restriction in mind. The nature of the verbal data arising from it is both qualitative, i.e. different types of modification were collected, and quantitative, i.e. the occurrence of modification was measured on an interval scale and mean utterance length was measured by the number of words. The occurrence of modifiers in different configurations was analysed statistically by means of Analysis of Variance, but the data was also approached interpretatively.

The second part of this study is situated entirely within the exploratory-interpretative paradigm. The verbal reports consecutively provided by the learners consist of qualitative psycholinguistic reflections on communicative strategies, and the analysis has been carried out by means of interpretative procedures, i.e. qualitative content analysis. The main methodological contribution of the introspection task to the study of production data is that it provides additional material to and insight into the production of phatic and stereotype endphases, i.e. it improves the understanding of the learners' declarative and procedural knowledge and of the social and affective aspects that interact with the cognitive dimension.

4.2. Upgrading and Downgrading.

The frame for phatic endphases involving THANKING and LEAVETAKING can be roughly summarized as aiming at upgrading or reinforcing the phatic move's illocutionary force by means of internal modifiers or supportive moves preceding or following the head act. The upgraders and expanders fulfilling this function consolidate the relationship. Consolidation is the primary social aim of phatic endphases.

The frame for DECLINING includes the aim to restore the positive illocutionary force of the the move (and the entire exchange). The competitive (negative) politeness needs have to be adhered to in order to reduce the tension between what the speaker wants to achieve and what is an acceptable reaction to it. Downgraders and grounders, which in this instance constitute the most salient category of

supportives, have a mitigating effect on the illocutionary force and the social relationship. Moves DECLINING or (to a lesser extent) ACCEPTING an offer show extensive occurrence of modifying elements. More precisely, a move DECLINING an offer requires the presence of at least one mitigator (either a lexical modifier or a supportive move). From this it can be concluded that modification contributes to the higher-order constituent of politeness. However, this rule does not apply to the phatic endphases THANKING and LEAVETAKING. These endphases retain the same politeness value whether additionally modified or not. Only their social and interactive value is affected. This becomes clear in the fact that some modifiers seem to be more important in keeping the channel of communication open than others. Uptoners, commitment indicators and appealers fulfil a double function, i.e. they are illocutionary force intensifiers and at the same time attend to the interactant's face.

5. Production Data: Main Findings.

A quantitative interpretative analysis of internal and external modification, carried out in chapter 4, yielded the following conclusions.

There is more modification in non-phatic than in purely phatic endphases. This is true both for the non-phatic endphases containing competitive and convivial politeness, i.e. moves DECLINING as well as ACCEPTING an offer. THANKING takes more modifiers than LEAVETAKING. Within phatic endphases, upgrading with the social aim of consolidating the relationship is most prominent, whereas in the less phatic moves downgrading in order to mitigate the refusal's illocutionary force is prerequisite. Finally, personal encounters in which the speaker is the agent have more modification than when the speaker is the beneficiary of the action or when engaged in service encounters.

The language-specific characteristics can be summarized in a straightforward way: on both modificatory dimensions German takes more modification than English. As far as interlanguage moves are concerned the following findings complete the picture: interlanguage moves are more extensively modified, which is especially salient in the production by the learners of German.

Coulmas' claim that conversational routines are pre-patterned can certainly be applied to the data. The native speakers agree on the structural lay-out of the endphases. They agree on mean utterance length, the structure of the head utterance (single- or multiple-headed) and the type and amount of modification to be used.

Pre-patterned routines recur within particular moves and encounter types. Moreover, Cheepen's claim that informal conversation is predictable can also be applied to the endphases and can be confirmed on the basis of the different frame-constituents for the different types of moves and encounters.

In summary, the native speaker **phatic frame** takes the following form:

Phatic utterances are formulaic.

They are preferably multiple-headed.

English and German phatic endphases are characterized by the occurrence of internal modification only, most of which upgrades the move's illocutionary force.

Endphases in German take more internal modification than endphases in English, which is especially salient in **THANKING** moves and personal encounters.

Moves in which **THANKING** is the central illocution have more modification than moves in which **LEAVETAKING** is focused upon.

Personal encounters between interactants who are familiar with each other are modified more intensely than service encounters.

This last tendency is again very noticeable in German.

The frame for pre-patterned endphases **DECLINING** or **ACCEPTING** an offer in summary looks like this:

English and German endphases **DECLINING** or **ACCEPTING** an offer are pre-patterned and highly predictable.

Their mean utterance length is considerably longer than that of phatic utterances.

Pre-patterned endphases contain extensive modification, which (unlike in phatic endphases) often consists of modifiers downgrading the move's illocutionary force and supportive moves external to the head act.

Internal and external modification often co-occur, especially in instances in which the interactants have competitive interests.

The occurrence of modification is especially salient in German endphases.

The most salient characteristics for the two types of moves can be concisely presented in the following schema:

PHATIC ENDPHASES

formulaic
multiple heads
low mean utterance length
internal modification
upgrading

PRE-PATTERNED ENDPHASES

predictable
single heads
high mean utterance length
internal and external modification
downgrading and upgrading

Production Schema for Phatic and Non-Phatic Moves.

6. Interlanguage Findings.**6.1. The Limitations of Loosely Structured Introspection.**

The data arising from the immediately consecutive introspection has shown that retrospection about modifying elements is possible, be it only to a limited extent. This is due to the general and loosely structured terms in which the task was set, a prerequisite for valid introspection. Consequently, the learners do not always explicitly comment on the **function** of the different individual modifiers, but mainly concentrate on the **lexical** aspects of modification within particular move structures and their **socio-pragmatic** effects. For instance, on the use of a particular politeness marker in THANKING. Moreover, they possess intuitions about the compounded weight of modification, since they propose additional heads or supportive moves, which contribute to the overall modifying value of the move. This might lead to the preliminary conclusion that most linguistic reflections are to be situated on a lexical level, which inhibits any further rationalizing about functional intricacies of individual language items.

6.2. The Contribution of Introspection to the Production Data.

Most general introspective comments made by the learners of English are of a **socio-pragmatic** nature. They consist of procedural elements, but also have repercussions on the declarative level. This observation is supported by the fact that uptoners, a pragmatic modificatory category, are underused in the production task. So, the learners experience problems in processing this category adequately. On the whole the learners of German focus on **interpersonal management** as well as on **syntactic** and **lexical** problematic elements, i.e. the elements which are situated within declarative knowledge. Anxiety on this level is supported by the fact that commitment indicators, as one category of syntactically demanding modifiers governing interpersonal relations, are under-represented.

Bringing the findings of the production and introspection tasks together results in the observation that the problems experienced by the learners in activating the necessary lower-level frames are due to inaccessibility of the necessary declarative knowledge or the presence of (partly) deviating knowledge. As far as modification is concerned, learner anxiety is situated at different frame levels for both language groups; nevertheless both groups behave similarly when compared with the amount of modification provided by the native speakers. Not only is there already over-representation in the areas of politeness markers and intensifiers, but the learners of German suggest using even more intensifiers and the learners of English would want to use more politeness markers. The reason for this is explicitly stated, i.e. in order to become more native-like. However, native speaker evaluation of modified interlanguage data suggests that the presence of more modification is not synonymous with more native-like utterances (cf. Van de Poel 1989, 24).

The findings in the English and German learner groups suggest that it is not sufficient to possess a near-target language declarative knowledge, since procedural deficits on the socio-pragmatic and personal management level prohibit learners from producing native-like utterances. The higher-frame elements seem to cause more intractable problems and are definitely learned at a later stage in the process. The fact that in their production the learners over-represent linguistic and socio-pragmatic elements which they (in retrospection) are not certain about, leads to the hypothesis that procedural and declarative anxiety (and deficiency) is strategically dealt with by means of a multiple presentation of the known. Over-representation, and under-representation for that matter, seem to take on the function of illocutionary force regulators. However, this claim needs to be investigated further.

In conclusion: the learners have a **procedural** deficit with underlying **declarative** grounds. This is in contrast with findings of Færch and Kasper (1989) who concludes that the learner data are characterized by a procedural deficit only.

6.3. The Interlanguage Phatic Frame.

These conclusions have repercussions for the phatic frame as it is traditionally presented with politeness as central constituent. The two learner groups seem to experience difficulties at different levels, i.e. the socio-pragmatic as opposed to the interpersonal management. Interpersonal management is most clearly observed in

discourse management and its elements and rules. Overcompensation at the interpersonal management level could suggest a different interlanguage stadium as compared to the pragmatic level. The fact that modification is an inherent feature at this level can, among others, be seen from the fact that the learners experience problems with the commitment indicators, i.e. underuse them. The introspection data reinforce the finding of the production data that managing relationships (i.e. establishing, restoring, retaining, etc.) seems to cause directly observable and more serious linguistic (and psycholinguistic) problems than socio-pragmatic accuracy. Thus, the conclusion which suggests itself is that (culturally appropriate) **interpersonal management** is more **central** to phatic endphases than socio-pragmatic politeness. It goes without saying that in order to function properly in the target-culture learners have to be able to activate the appropriate politeness phenomena, but perhaps they have to be treated as a function of the way in which the relationship between the interactants is developed.

In summary, the following statements can be provided:

1. Modification is an essential characteristic of interpersonal management.
2. Interpersonal management is an important condition for phatic endphases.
3. Modification is an essential part of phatic endphases and is entirely a function of the dual aim: cooperative parting and interpersonal consolidating.

7. Problem of Teachability.

As observed, the learners seem to possess some intuition about the use of modifiers, i.e. they possess discourse knowledge. Even though they overdo the amount of modification, the balance between the choice of different categories is right.

It has been generally acknowledged that phatic communion is most easily and adequately acquired in a natural environment, but there might be reasons to believe that there is more to it.

The same production task (carried out under the same restrictions) was completed by a small group of Danish learners of Dutch (N=20) (and compared with the data of a native speaker control group). It resulted in interlanguage endphases which can more easily be mapped on the native speaker equivalents than is the case for

interlanguage English and German. Let me briefly explain: the mean occurrence of modification in phatic endphases is only slightly higher for the learners (0.14 vs. 0.20) and this is also true for pre-patterned phrases (0.73 vs 0.75). Also the amount of external and internal modification for both groups differs only minimally (0.23 vs 0.28 and 0.64 vs. 0.67).

These results could suggest that Dutch modification (target language) is more closely related to Danish (source language) and more easily accessible for native speakers of Danish than is the case for interlanguage English and interlanguage German. But if we look at the mean occurrence of modification for native speakers of Danish to the same Discourse Completion Task, we find 0.16 mean modification in phatic vs. 0.53 in pre-patterned endphases and 0.19 mean external vs. 0.50 internal modification. This means that Danish operates with least modification in endphases, followed by English, Dutch and German with most modification.

A second explanation is the interlanguage level at which the learners of Dutch have to be situated, i.e. it is clearly earlier than that of the learners of English and German. The students of Dutch normally enter university without having had any formal schooling in Dutch. This may be the reason why they do not yet experience anxiety with regard to the (socio-pragmatic) norm and therefore are able to react more naturally within the interactive endphases. (This has also been established by Dan Robertson with regard to the grammatical norm (personal communication)).

An other tentative explanation is pedagogic in nature and regards the linguistic input. It has been established that the teaching of Dutch is heavily socio-culturally determined and concerned with providing (lexico-syntactic) communicative strategies for interpersonal management (Van de Poel 1990). It might thus be hypothesized that meta-communicative knowledge facilitates the selection and usage of pragmatic components in interaction.

8. Further Research.

Research projects always seem to generate more questions than answers. In the following section, I will only touch upon some of the obvious questions which occurred to me in the process.

8.1. Phonetic Analysis.

As already outlined before, it could be interesting to carry out a phonetic analysis especially of the English learner production. The analysis can either be done on the

level of error analysis of pronunciation or can result in providing an inventory of intonational interlanguage patterns. The pronunciation and intonation data can be further substantiated by the vast collection of introspection comments on the matter. Not only can this result in pedagogical recommendations, but it can also be useful for setting up a theoretical model of how intonation contributes to the modificational value of different types of moves and encounters. Again this might help towards defining interpersonal management.

8.2. Syntactic Analysis.

The German production and introspection data provide ample material for carrying out an analysis of interlanguage syntactic features. Moreover, the learners' syntactic awareness coming to the fore in both production and introspection data might then be compared with the native speaker production. From this comparison conclusions can be drawn about the structural lay-out of different types of moves. I will be so bold as to hypothesize that the learners opt for structurally different moves compared to native speakers. This conclusion has already tentatively arisen on the basis of a different approach by both samples to service encounters with regard to interactive structures (the learners use more than twice as many multiple heads). Also the use (or rather absence) of complex syntactic modifiers contributes to this fact.

8.3. Politeness Strategies and Discernment.

Politeness Strategies and social indexing are clearly realized in the different forms of modification. However, they do not take exactly the same form in the phatic endphases THANKING and LEAVETAKING. Even though in both convivial politeness has to be lived up to, the amount of face-work involved differs considerably. A question to be asked is how exactly modification contributes to the two sides of politeness and what the precise relation is between them. On an altogether different level it can be asked: which politeness strategies do learners have available in endphases and what is the socio-pragmatic significance of any chosen politeness strategy?

On the basis of the interlanguage data it becomes clear that the learners are primarily occupied by two conditions of social interaction, i.e. being clear (the more precisely, the better) and being culturally appropriate (the more native-like, the better). This finding could be an argument in favour of the definition of politeness as proposed by Blum-Kulka. Politeness in her terminology takes the form of an interactional balance between the need for pragmatic clarity and the need

to avoid coerciveness (1987, 131). It should be investigated how the learners achieve this interactional balance and which (linguistic) elements contribute towards it. On the basis of the present findings it can be hypothesized that register-appropriateness will play an important role. It should be investigated how variables regarding social status, age, etc. influence the linguistic choices.

8.4. Affective Motivation: Cultural Concepts.

The present study mainly focused on the cognitive aspect of interlanguage use. Some of the comments in the introspection data point towards a complementing investigation about the affective and social aspects of the psychological dimension of foreign language learning and language use.

To acquire a more complete picture of interlanguage use, it would be worth looking into the image that foreign language learners have of the target culture, especially with respect to interpersonal communication and the related linguistic realizations. This cultural image consists of various cultural concepts. Together they form a higher-order frame. The cultural conceptions and preconceptions could be investigated on the basis of a traditional sociological instrument, i.e. a questionnaire containing rating scales (cf. Van de Poel 1991a and 1991b).

On the basis of the information that I have collected up to now it can be established that predominant concepts within the cultural image are of a different nature for learners of English as opposed to learners of German. The working-hypothesis which can be derived from this observation is:

Learners of German and English have different conceptions of their respective target cultures.

The following research questions should be looked into:

1. What is the compound image non-native speakers have of the target culture with regard to interpersonal communication?
2. What are the components of this image (on a negative and positive scale)?
3. Is there a difference in cultural type casting between learners of English and German? In other words, do learners of English stress different cultural concepts from learners of German?

After having established what kind of image underlies language use, the different aspects of the socio-cultural image could be correlated with the above linguistic and psycholinguistic findings. It has been pointed out in previous research that the interpersonal communicative function is heavily culturally determined (see, among others, Blum-Kulka and House 1989). In the case of non-native speakers of a particular language a conflict will exist between the influence of the mother-tongue culture (as related to the mother-tongue) and the speaker's conceptualization of the target culture. It should be studied whether there is a relationship of some sort between on the one hand the perception of the target culture as captured in the cultural concepts and on the other hand language production. This might especially become clear in the intergroup differences as established in the production experiment and introspection. Thus, the fact that learners of English and German produce a different kind of interpersonal linguistic material and stress different problem areas in their retrospection on the material, might be reflected in a different underlying cultural image. In other words, the fact that the German and English learners verbally behave differently in interactive endphases can be a reflection of the images they have of the respective target cultures.

The outcome would provide information about cultural and interactional concepts constituting the affective dimension of the learners' language use and could supplement the overall picture of the cross-cultural communicative process.

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APPENDIX I

Discourse-Completion Task for English.

You are on a holiday in London. You are attending a course at a language school where you have met a lot of new and interesting people. You are confronted with the following situations. Your task is to react as naturally as possible to each of them. If you feel that there is no response required, you do not have to answer.

S1: You have shown a friend the way to the local zoo.

She says: 'Thanks a lot'.

S2: You are visiting a friend. You're about to leave when she asks: 'How about a cup of tea before you go?'

S3: You are leaving the butcher's.

The shop assistant says: 'Have a nice day'.

S4: A friend wants to buy you a drink in a pub.

She says: 'This one's on me'.

S5: You are at the language school.

Someone asks you: 'Would you mind if I borrowed your pen?'

S6: You are in a pub with a friend.

She asks: 'Are you sure you won't have a gin and tonic?'

S7: You are leaving the language school. You are holding the door for a friend leaving behind you.

She says: 'Thank you'.

S8: You are invited to a friend's house for lunch. You have had an excellent lunch, but your friend insists on you having some more desert.

She says: 'You must have some more apple pie'.

S9: You are at the station and have asked when the train to Brighton leaves.

The lady behind the counter answers: 'It leaves at 9.25'.

- S10: You went to see an interesting film with a friend. When leaving the cinema she says: 'Nice film, wasn't it?'
- S11: You are leaving from a wonderful party at a friend's house.
She says: 'It was lovely seeing you. Call again soon'.
- S12: You have just booked theatre tickets. The lady behind the counter gives you your tickets.
She says: 'Here are your tickets and your change'.
- S13: You are at the supermarket. You have done your shopping. You are at the cash point. You have paid.
The cashier says: 'Here's your change. Good bye'.
- S14: You meet someone at a party.
She offers you a cigarette: 'Would you like a cigarette?'
- S15: You have got a day off from the course. Before you leave the teacher says: 'Make sure you enjoy yourself'.
- S16: You have given a talk at the language school.
A friend congratulates you on it: 'Nice talk that was'.
- S17: You have organized a party. A friend is leaving.
She says: 'Thanks very much for the party'.
- S18: It is Friday. The course you are attending has finished. You are leaving.
A friend shouts: 'Have a nice weekend!'
- S19: You have caught a virus. The doctor wants to check your progress, so you have made a new appointment with her.
She says: 'See you next week then?'
- S20: The summerholiday is over. You are leaving for home again.
A friend says: 'Cheerio then, and don't forget to keep in touch'.

APPENDIX II

Discourse-Completion Task for German.

Stell dir die folgende Situation vor: Du bist in Bonn auf einem Sprachkurs. Du hast viele interessante Leute kennengelernt und erlebst die folgenden Situationen. Bitte reagiere so natürlich wie möglich, und falls du meinst, es sollte nicht geantwortet werden, kannst du es ruhig bleiben lassen.

- S1: Du hast einer Freundin den Weg zum Tiergarten gezeigt.
Sie sagt: 'Herzlichen Dank'.
- S2: Du bist bei einer Freundin zu Besuch. Du willst gerade aufbrechen, als sie fragt: 'Wie wäre es mit einer Tasse Tee, bevor du gehst?'
- S3: Du bist beim Metzger.
Beim Hinausgehen sagt die Verkäuferin: 'Wiedersehen'.
- S4: Eine Freundin möchte dich in der Kneipe einladen.
Sie sagt: 'Was möchtest du trinken?'
- S5: Du bist in der Sprachschule.
Jemand fragt dich: 'Kann ich mal deinen Bleistift ausleihen?'
- S6: Du bist mit einer Freundin in der Kneipe. Du hast gerade einen Gin Tonic abgelehnt,
aber sie fragt nochmal: 'Bist du sicher, daß du keinen Gin Tonic willst?'
- S7: Beim Hinausgehen aus der Sprachschule hältst du für eine Freundin die Tür auf.
Sie sagt: 'Danke'.
- S8: Du bist bei einer Freundin zum Mittagessen eingeladen. Du hast gut und reichlich gegessen, aber die Freundin besteht darauf, daß du noch ein wenig Nachtisch nimmst.
Sie sagt: 'Nimm doch noch was vom Apfelkuchen'.

- S9: Du bist auf dem Bahnhof und hast gerade gefragt, wann der Zug nach Bochum abfährt. Die Dame hinter dem Schalter antwortet: '9.25 Uhr'.
- S10: Du warst mit einer Freundin in einem interessanten Film.
Beim Verlassen des Kinos fragt sie: 'Toller Film, was?'
- S11: Du verabschiedest dich nach einem fantastischem Fest bei einer Freundin.
Sie sagt: 'Schön, daß du da warst. Komm doch bald mal wieder vorbei'.
- S12: Du hast gerade Karten fürs Theater bestellt. Die Dame an der Kasse gibt dir die Karten und sagt: 'Ihre Karten und Ihr Wechselgeld. Bitte sehr'.
- S13: Du bist im Kaufhaus. Du hast an der Kasse bezahlt.
Die Kassendame sagt: 'Ihr Wechselgeld bitte. Wiedersehen'.
- S14: Du begegnest jemand auf einem Fest.
Sie bietet dir eine Zigarette an: 'Zigarette?'
- S15: Du hast einen Tag schulfrei. Bevor du nach Hause gehst,
sagt die Lehrerin: 'Viel Spaß'.
- S16: Du hast im Sprachkurs einen Vortrag gehalten.
Eine Freundin gratuliert dir: 'Klasse Vortrag, du!'
- S17: Du hast eine Party veranstaltet.
Eine Freundin verabschiedet sich: 'Herzlichen Dank für den schönen Abend'.
- S18: Es ist Freitag. Der Sprachkurs ist vorbei. Du gehst nach Hause.
Eine Freundin ruft: 'Schönes Wochenende!'
- S19: Du hast eine Halsentzündung. Die Ärztin möchte dich nochmal kontrollieren und gibt dir einen neuen Termin.
Sie sagt: 'Bis nächste Woche dann.'
- S20: Die Ferien sind vorbei. Du fährst wieder nach Hause.
Eine Freundin sagt: 'Wiedersehen, und vergiß nicht zu schreiben'.

APPENDIX III

Description of the Situations in the Discourse-Completion Task.

- S1: The learner has shown a friend the way to the zoo and is thanked.
- S2: The learner is visiting a friend and is about to leave when s/he is offered a cup of tea.
- S3: The learner is leaving the butcher's when the shop assistant wishes him/her a nice day
- S4: The learner is in a pub and a friend offers to buy him/her a drink.
- S5: The learner is at the language school and is asked to lend a friend a pen.
- S6: The learner is in a pub and having already declined a gin and tonic is asked to confirm this.
- S7: The learner is leaving the language school and is thanked for holding the door for a friend.
- S8: The learner has had an excellent lunch at a friend's house but is urged to take more dessert.
- S9: The learner is at the station where s/he is given information about a train leaving.
- S10: The learner has watched a film together with a friend who comments upon it.
- S11: The learner is taking leave of a friend after a party at the friend's house.
- S12: The learner has booked theatre tickets and is given tickets and change.
- S13: The learner has done some shopping in the supermarket and is given change by the cashier.
- S14: The learner is being offered a cigarette at a party.
- S15: The learner is going to have a day off from the language course. The teacher wishes him/her an enjoyable day.
- S16: The learner has given a talk at the language school and is congratulated by a friend.
- S17: The learner has organized a party and is thanked by a departing friend.
- S18: The learner is leaving the language school for the weekend and a friend is taking leave.
- S19: The learner is at the doctor's and has made a new appointment.
- S20: The learner is leaving for home again after the holiday course and a friend says farewell.